

The Nation

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[Number 1229]

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1889.

The Week.

THE deadlock between Mr. Weaver of Iowa and the people of the United States did not reach a conclusion until Saturday, when it was brought to an end by a bargain or "compromise." Mr. Weaver got—so he tells the newspapers—all he wanted, but the people of the United States did not get back the twelfth part of the second session of the Fiftieth Congress, which had been wasted and thrown away. All that Mr. Weaver conceded was that if he could get what he wanted he would get out of the way, and leave to the people of the United States what might remain of the session. It is idle, however, to quarrel with Mr. Weaver, unprincipled and audacious though it be for a legislator to sacrifice the general welfare for his particular measure; for so long as the people of the United States tolerate a system which is a hot-bed for "deadlocks" and "one-man power," they must expect such results. This particular deadlock was but another product of "the short session." If there were no impending cataclysm absolutely certain to bring the present House of Representatives to an end on the fourth day of March—if the House, like the Senate, could continue *organized and in session* until its legislative business should be finished—Mr. Weaver never would have thought of his deadlock. Its efficacy lay in the fact that he was able to destroy one of the twelve working weeks of the short session of Congress. What is wanted is, not an indignation meeting over Mr. Weaver, or a revision of the often-revised rules of the House, but a legislative system which will not be irremediably knocked to pieces on every alternate fourth of March. The reformation of the House of Representatives has been a frequent subject of consideration in these columns, and, if our readers will turn back to the editorial in No. 1171, they will see that the present illustration is but a new phase of the inherent evil.

The clause in the Senate Tariff Bill which imposed a duty on fish if frozen or packed in ice, the same being now free, was a sectional measure of a very contemptible sort. It proposed to favor the people within easy distance of the Canadian border, at the expense of all the rest of the country. Senator Plumb was right in objecting to this discrimination, but his opposition resulted only in getting all fresh fish, frozen and unfrozen, put on the dutiable list at one-half cent per pound. The clause in question throws much light on the meaning which the Republican party gives to the phrase "revision of the tariff." Years ago, when the party was in easy possession of all branches of the Government, and there was no Treasury surplus menacing the business interests of the country, it put

all fresh fish on the free list. At that time frozen fish and fish packed in ice was a common article of commerce in the chief markets of the country, but no distinction was made in the law between frozen and unfrozen. Now, with a Treasury surplus on hand, and with a mouthful of promises to revise the tariff, we find the party going back to ways and practices once discarded in order to add a new tax on the many for the benefit of the few.

The sugar-bounty amendment to the Senate Tariff bill has some noteworthy features, apart from its general character as the introduction of a new Governmental policy of very grave import. It proposes that the bounty of one cent per pound shall be paid for the production of sugar from cane, beet, or sorghum, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Nothing could be easier on paper than this mode of paying bounties. Nothing can be more difficult in practice than the payment of bounties on any one variety of sugar without the risk of frauds on the Government. Twenty-five pages of the Revised Statutes are filled with Draconian legislation to prevent frauds on the revenue by distillers and rectifiers. This mass of legislation is none too minute and none too severe to accomplish its end. It has been worked out by the experience of a quarter of a century. In spite of all this carefulness on the part of Congress, enormous frauds have been perpetrated at times, and great scandals have been exposed in the courts of justice. Now it is deemed sufficient by the Senate Finance Committee, in dealing with a still more complicated matter, to refer the whole subject to the wisdom of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Sugar from cane, sugar from beets, sugar from sorghum are all produced by different means; they are also of different degrees of excellence. The payment of bounties on each requires different machinery. What is to prevent the introduction of foreign sugar into the manger from which the bounty is fed? What is to prevent the payment of bounty for glucose? Some kind of machinery, of course. But, what machinery? Is Congress not to know beforehand? Perhaps it was believed by the Committee that the bill would not pass, and therefore it would be best not to waste time in providing safeguards against fraud.

It was a deft use of words to provide that the bounty shall be paid out of the duties on imported sugar. This carries the suggestion that the money in the public Treasury is of different kinds, viz., one kind derived from taxes on the people, and another kind derived from duties on sugar. During the war and the suspension of specie payments, it was customary and necessary for Congress to make distinctions between money received from customs and money received from the internal revenue, because the one was payable in gold and the other in

greenbacks. No distinction was ever before made between two kinds of gold revenue. Imagine the Secretary of the Treasury keeping a separate strong box under this bill to hold the receipts from sugar duties, so that he might not make any mistake by paying the sugar bounties out of any other description of funds. Another provision of very questionable character is that the bounty shall be paid till April 1, 1900. This is an attempt to tie the hands of future Congresses for a period of eleven years, and would of course be unavailing if any Congress in that period should repeal the bounty law or refuse to make an appropriation to pay the bounty. Altogether the sugar amendment is a Pandora's box of coming ills, and we fancy that its supporters are more troubled by it than its opponents.

The National Wool Growers' Association has "materialized" again, and has been holding a séance in Washington, for the declared purpose of getting higher duties on wool than are provided for in the Senate bill, and of conferring with the wool manufacturers "if deemed advisable." The end which they seek is set forth in one of their resolutions, viz.: "that duties on wool and on woollen and worsted goods shall be adjusted and maintained so as to secure to them the American market." This modest demand, that sixty millions of people shall have no clothing except what the Association can supply, and at such prices as they choose to ask, is not likely to be granted in a hurry, for the reason, if no other, that the demands of the wool-growers, if conceded, would put it quite out of the power of the manufacturers to do their part in furnishing the supply. The requirement of Pharaoh that the Children of Israel should furnish bricks without straw, was not more unreasonable than the demand of the alleged Wool Growers' Association that the manufacturers shall supply the American market with all the woollen goods needed under the severest restrictions as to raw material. We are now importing \$45,000,000 worth of woollen goods yearly because the American manufacturers cannot get their wool on as good terms as the foreigner gets his; yet we are admonished that in order to produce all the goods we need, we ought to make it still more difficult to get wool.

The absurdity of this demand of the alleged Wool-Growers' Association is matched by its impudence. For years they have been strutting before Congress as a great political power, pretending that they could make and unmake parties, and have actually inspired terror among both Democrats and Republicans; but when a crucial test came last November, their political importance collapsed in the most signal manner. In the three great wool-growing States, Ohio, Texas, and California, they lost votes heavily on the very issue that they have invited.

Free wool was the first and foremost question of the Presidential contest. It was not a question of a small reduction, like that in the tariff of 1883, but of total abolition; and these bullies of the political field, who have been threatening for a whole generation that if their slice of tariff plunder was lessened, nobody else should have any, were beaten ignominiously on their own ground and in their own territory. The alleged Association is, for all political purposes, a myth, a jack-o'-lantern, a scarecrow. It consists of a handful of persons who sign themselves "Presidents" and "Secretaries," and who go about here and there, pretending to represent other people who care nothing about them or what they do, so long as they pay their own board and room-rent, or get the manufacturers to pay it for them.

If the present weather continues much longer, there will be a serious deficiency in the ice crop, and the result will be that the country next summer will be deluged with foreign ice. It would seem, therefore, as if the native icemen were entitled to protection for the little ice they will have on hand, so as to maintain those high prices which are the greatest blessing a community can have. The cheapness of ice for many years past has been a deplorable feature in our industry, but it has been impossible for Congress to prevent it by legislative restrictions on production. It would have been easy enough, of course, to forbid unlicensed frost, but it would have come just the same in the remoter regions. The result has been that for several years there has been little or no profit in the ice business. The prices have been extremely low, and the dealers have only been protected from foreign competition by freight and insurance. Under these circumstances, the condition of the icemen has been pitiable, and they have had the extreme mortification of peddling ice at prices which put it within everybody's reach. This winter, unless there should be a speedy change in the weather, they will enjoy the benefits of a great scarcity, which surely nobody will begrudge them. Even the sick and the poor will, for the poor ice-dealers' sake, rejoice at the thought that ice at last is going to be beyond their means. But if the Canadians and Nova Scotians are allowed to bring ice here free of duty, as at present, of course these pleasing dreams will not be realized. Low prices, with all their attendant horrors, will prevail. Many icemen's wages will be cut down, and some drivers of ice-carts will have to drive soda-water and root-beer carts instead. We therefore respectfully suggest that a duty of one cent per pound be placed on all foreign ice imported in American bottoms, and two cents a pound on all imported in foreign bottoms, the latter to be required in addition to prove the presence of a lighted stove in the hold during the entire voyage.

Judge Barrett's decision in the case of the People vs. the North River Sugar Refining

Company is the first important deliverance of the courts against Trusts in any part of the country. The gist of the decision is, that when a corporation abdicates its charter powers, or turns them over to be exercised by third parties, it commits suicide. This is in pursuance of the general principle of the law of corporations that the act of incorporation is to be construed strictly, and that powers not granted expressly, or by necessary implication, cannot be exercised. The decision does not invalidate Trusts in general, but it breaks up their continuity. The property remains unaffected by the decision. The parties composing the Trust can buy it in and keep it together, and carry on business to all intents and purposes as before; but their relations *inter se* are very seriously disturbed. Their position becomes somewhat analogous to that of the railroads under the anti-pooling clause of the Inter-State Commerce Act. They are deprived of a means, which they deemed essential to their purposes, for holding themselves together. They are no longer endowed with perpetuity, and therefore the individual members are put upon their vigilance to protect and secure their private interests. Having compared the opinion of the Court with the very able argument on the other side by Prof. Theodore W. Dwight, in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December, we are constrained to say that Judge Barrett's reasoning seems to us to be the better of the two. We may add that it is, in our judgment, more conformable to public interests and more in harmony with public opinion. The latter is an element which lawyers most commonly cast out of the reckoning, but it is of all elements the controlling one in the long run, as it ought to be.

Mr. Fairchild's reason for removing Mr. McMullen from the Appraisership is "his general belief that, either through age or some other cause, he [McMullen] could not properly judge of the qualifications of his subordinates, or supervise their work." A belief of this sort by an appointing officer can hardly be criticised or found fault with by any outsider; but any bystander can safely say that a man of seventy-two years, who has thirty-six years of faithful service behind him, deserves, even if he has become incompetent, to have reasonable notice given him, and to have his retirement from the service soothed by a little kindly explanation. If a servant of as long standing as Mr. McMullen were got rid of in this peremptory way by a private employer, the latter would be visited with the severest kind of social reprobation. Why the laws of social morality are not considered applicable to the relations of the Government to its subordinate officers is one of the greatest mysteries of politics, and it is deepened when we see as kindly and upright a man as Mr. Fairchild "decapitating" with so much ruthlessness of manner. One's wonder is increased by the fact, too, that if great reforms are needed in the Appraiser's office, Mr. Fairchild should have left himself only six weeks for their accomplishment, and that

he should seriously expect that anybody whom he puts in Mr. McMullen's place will be retained by the incoming Administration. Surely, the cause of reform would suffer no grave discredit, and the public Treasury no perceptible loss, if Mr. McMullen were allowed to stay in office till March 4, and if Gen. Harrison were allowed to pass on his defects. We make this remark with the less hesitation because we see no sign of any desire to get rid either of Surveyor Beattie or Deputy Collector Davis, both of whom, in the general belief of this community, have been prevented "by age or some other cause"—most probably the latter—for four long years from serving the Government faithfully or reflecting any credit on the Administration. It is rather late to dismiss them, we admit; but to save the public even six weeks of them would be a patriot's work. Their prompt decapitation by Gen. Harrison will be some compensation to those who are sorry, as we are, that such an honorable career as Mr. McMullen's should end in such a way. Thirty-six years of honest service for poor pay and without promotion has a great deal of real glory in it.

Mr. Schurz's speech before the Commonwealth Club on Saturday evening is the most important political discussion since the Presidential election. Of course, there will be differences of opinion as to the causes of Mr. Cleveland's defeat. Mr. Schurz thinks that the Democrats gained more than they lost by the tariff issue, and that if the educational campaign had begun two years earlier the result would have been very different. But, however people may disagree as to the *vera causa* of the election of Gen. Harrison, scarcely anybody will differ from Mr. Schurz in the conviction so pointedly expressed by him, that the first duty of all good citizens is to put a stop to bribery in elections, and to take up this work by a candid admission that the evil is not confined to one party alone, but has penetrated both to a dangerous and alarming extent.

Mr. John Wanamaker denies distinctly to a reporter that he has destroyed any accounts of the Business Men's Advisory Committee of which he was Chairman, and which raised money for the National and Quay's Committee. He says he has all the books and accounts of his Committee, and has done nothing in connection with it which he is ashamed of or regrets. His partner, Mr. Ogden, added that while he could not trace the money paid over to Quay, the Advisory Committee "knew in a general way for what purposes the money was expended," and Mr. Wanamaker would not countenance a misappropriation. The Quay Committee on their part say they have only burned the correspondence relating to appointment to office, but have preserved the "valuable" documents. We made the statement that they had burned everything, on the faith of a description in the daily papers of what took place at the headquarters after the election. What Mr.

Quay considers "valuable" papers, of course we do not know. That Mr. Wanamaker had kept the accounts of his receipts we never doubted, because they are of no particular importance. It is the expenditures in a campaign which interest the public, and which ought to be made public, and for which we now ask, but which we have no expectation of seeing.

Mr. Saxton has made some changes in the Ballot-Reform bill which was introduced in both Houses at Albany last week, but they are mainly in the provisions in regard to the publication of the official ballots in the newspapers prior to election, and in regard to the preparation of those ballots by the officials in charge of printing them, and are in all cases in the interest of wider publicity and more complete freedom of the exercise of individual choice on the part of the voter. In every way they strengthen the bill. The provision in regard to the marking of the ballots stands unchanged—namely, that "before delivering any ballot to an elector the said two inspectors shall write their names or initials upon the back of the ballot, immediately under the printed endorsement." This method has been adopted by the advocates of the bill after a most careful and exhaustive consideration of all the methods proposed. It is less expensive than an official stamp, which would have to be changed at every election in order to prevent forgery. The fear that in signing his initials an inspector might put on a distinguishing mark which would enable him to identify a ballot in the counting, and thus defeat secrecy of the ballot, has no perceptible foundation. Initials have been used in Australia and Canada for years, and nothing of this kind has ever happened or has even been tried.

It is evident from the tone of Gov. Hovey's message to the Indiana Legislature that the Republicans of that State, like the Blaine Republicans of Maine, are not at all eager for ballot-reform legislation. Gov. Hovey is very careful not to say a word in favor of that kind of electoral reform, but confines himself mainly to recommending the old and futile remedies for abolishing bribery in elections by fixing fines and penalties. His attitude towards the subject is not of much consequence, however, as the Democrats have a majority in both houses of the Legislature, and in Indiana a majority vote is sufficient to override a veto. In Maine the opposition of the Blaine faction grows more open daily. The redoubtable "Joe" Manley himself is at the head of it, and a plan has been arranged, it is said, to crush the movement before it gets much further. The bill providing for the reform will be allowed to get into Committee, but will probably never get before the Legislature in any other shape than as a minority report. This combination of opponents to ballot reform—Gov. Hill, Tammany Hall, and the *Sun* in New York, the Blaine Republicans in Maine, and the Dudley Republicans in Indiana—is most instructive. It shows more

plainly than columus of arguments that the proposed reform is all that its advocates claim it to be, since the most rascally influences in the politics of all parties hasten to unite against it as their most deadly foe.

The doctrine of evolution, or the "preservation of profitable variations," has a new illustration in the discovery made by Mr. C. A. Alexander of Wilkes Co., Georgia, some four years ago in his cotton-field. He found one stalk of the plant which was different from the rest in the formation of the leaf. Instead of having a solid leaf about four inches wide, and therefore casting a considerable shadow over the plant and furnishing a good, broad surface for caterpillars to spin their cocoons on, this plant had a leaf divided into several partitions or fingers. Mr. Alexander saved the seed of this stalk, and planting it found that it reproduced the same kind of leaf as the parent. He repeated the experiment four years in succession, and found the new leaf reproduced in every case. He found, also, that the new plants were more thrifty than the old. Receiving more sunlight, the bolls were less liable to mildew, and, offering less surface, they were less liable to the attacks of the caterpillar. The *Financial Chronicle* has a leading article on this discovery, which it looks upon as having probably a high economical value. Probably the evolutionists will make much of it also, and tell us how, in the natural course of things, even without the intervention of man, the five-fingered cotton-plant, having once secured lodgment on the earth, would inevitably supersede the old variety, being better armed and equipped in the struggle for existence. If anybody asks how the variation came about, the question cannot be answered.

Mr. Chamberlain's announcement in his speech at Birmingham, that "he will live and die a Commoner," that is, will not accept a title from the Tories, is doubtless intended to quiet the apprehension created in the minds of those Radicals who still cling to him by the great change which has come over him regarding London society. Up to 1886 he was much reviled and despised by Conservatives as a vulgar radical and demagogue, and was never seen in what were called "the best circles." He was then preaching the "three-acres-and-a-cow" gospel, and proposing to tax accumulated wealth as "ransom" due by the rich to the poor. He paid back this odium in kind by deriding the pretensions of London society, and maintaining that the charms of Birmingham and other provincial society were as great or greater. As soon as he turned on Gladstone, however, it became "the thing" in London to take Chamberlain up. The duchesses and countesses went for him with a will, and captured him almost without a struggle, and he was soon within the charmed circle, and seemed to enjoy it immensely, to the dismay of many of his old co-laborers. It would appear that they have lately begun to fear he might even disappear into the House of Lords, and become a "K.

G.," like Disraeli. He will probably stay where he is, however, and see what luck is in store for him when the Grand Old Man dies.

Mr. Gladstone has in the last number of the *Nineteenth Century* a review of O'Connell's Letters, of which we had a notice last week. It contains some fresh illustrations of the difficulties which O'Connell had to contend with in the House of Commons, in addition to that which we quoted from Richard Cobden. Cobden said in one of his letters that, although O'Connell "always treated him with friendly attention," he "never shook hands with him or faced his smile without a feeling of insecurity; and as for trusting him in any public question where his passions or his vanity might interfere, he would as soon have thought of an alliance with an Ashantee chief." So he remained silent on Irish affairs for eight years in the House of Commons, because he disliked O'Connell's looks and manners. And yet O'Connell opposed the corn laws of 1815, and steadily supported Cobden in his crusade against them from the moment he entered the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone now mentions how much he had been impressed in his first session of parliamentary life by the way O'Connell "poured out his wit, his pathos, and his earnestness in the cause of negro emancipation," and says he was "as thorough an English Liberal as if he had had no Ireland to think of." He fought for law reform, for postal reform, for the secret ballot, and, "in short, for whatever tended within the political sphere to advance human happiness and freedom."

Nevertheless, Mr. Gladstone confesses that he too shared the prejudices against him, which were established, "not by conviction, but by tradition and education." Although he never "drew" him in the House by the sort of attacks which the young Tory members now make on Mr. Gladstone himself, the English prejudice against O'Connell and his followers—that is, the Catholic Irish—as expressed by Cobden, he ascribes to the "hatred which nations are apt to feel towards those whom they have injured." But we doubt if its source is as respectable or historic as this. It is rather the dislike which men feel to people of a different temperament, different manners and religion and traditions, which the reserved feel to the demonstrative, the refined to the coarse, the silent to the noisy. We have little doubt that if Cobden or Goldwin Smith had to serve a few sessions in the New York Legislature, their hatred of a large part of the Assembly would be as bitter and as implacable as Cobden's of O'Connell or Smith's of the Parnellites. Goldwin Smith's hatred of the Irish is to him a reason for keeping them close to him, in some place where he can see them and curse them every day. More philosophic politicians, however, think the less politicians who hate each other, without knowing why, see of each other the better, or, in other words, that more or less separation is the best cure for incompatibility.

THE INTER-STATE COMMERCE COMMISSION'S SECOND ANNUAL REPORT.

THE work of the Inter-State Commerce Commission has increased in variety as well as in volume. It has gradually divided itself into three distinct departments instead of one. It was at first supposed that the Commission would be merely an administrative body, exercising a sort of supervisory power over the railroads in connection with the operations of the Act. But the course of events soon made the work of the Commission itself approach more nearly to a judicial character. It was occupied with interpretation rather than with supervision. Cases were presented for decision which involved a most careful discussion of principles, and where each particular decision furnished precedents for a hundred others. So important did the preparation of these opinions become that the Commission had little time for its purely administrative duties. These were at first left under the general control of the Secretary, but were soon put into the hands of a separate and almost independent officer—Mr. McCain. Some idea of the extent of his work may be obtained from the fact that no less than 270,000 tariffs have been received and filed, nor does the number show much sign of diminution. They are still coming in at the rate of 500 a day, and require a force of fourteen men to attend to them.

When it came to the collection of railroad statistics, a further subdivision was necessary. The work in its early stages was under the general supervision of Mr. McCain, but it was soon found that he had quite enough to occupy him in connection with the filing of tariffs and with questions which arose in that connection. The result was the establishment of two subordinate bureaus instead of one; rates and transportation being left in Mr. McCain's charge, while Prof. Henry C. Adams was placed in control of the statistical department. It is his work which gives the most opportunity for discussion in connection with the report before us. The statements and conclusions of the Commission, however interesting and valuable, are already familiar. They have, for the most part, been outlined in previous decisions of particular cases. They have been given to the public in the advance sheets of a partial report some little time since. The questions with which they chiefly deal have been discussed in recent numbers of this and other journals, not merely in connection with the report itself, but with speeches like those of Mr. Adams at the Commercial Club or Judge Cooley at the more recent merchants' dinner in Boston.

On the other hand, the work of the statistical department has promised to give much new material. For railroad statistics in this country we have hitherto depended on two sets of publications—the United States Census of 1880 and the successive volumes of Poor's Manual. Each is, to a certain extent, unsatisfactory. The Census was wonderfully well planned and executed; but it could not, in the nature of things, meet all demands.

In the first place, it was largely occupied with the descriptive and physical characteristics of railroads rather than with their economical and financial condition. What was done under the latter head was good as far as it went, but it formed only a small fraction of the whole. More than that, it soon became antiquated. The conditions of railroad economy change so rapidly from year to year that what was true in 1880 is largely changed in 1889. The facts were somewhat old when the transportation volume of the census was published. Before we can hope for the issue of the corresponding volume of the next census, many of them will become quite useless. An annual issue is necessary to meet our requirements in this respect. To a certain extent Poor's Manual has filled this want. Considering the difficulties involved in any general collection of American railroad statistics, its publishers deserve great credit; but it was quite out of their power to accomplish all that was desirable. Different railroads made their returns on such different systems that anything like a classification of operating expenses was out of the question. There is no way of telling how much the railroads of the country as a whole charge to transportation account, how much to equipment, or how much to maintenance of way. Even the classification of the different sources of income or the different items in the general balance sheet is subject to great difficulty and more or less inevitable error.

A Government office, with the power not merely to collect statistics, but to prescribe forms of annual reports, has had a great opportunity. It remains to be seen how well that opportunity will be used. The present report is in some respects a disappointment. Prof. Adams was handicapped from the outset by the fact that the schedule of questions in the prescribed form of annual report had been pretty much determined before he came into office. He obviously thinks, though he does not directly say so, that some of them might have been modified to advantage. The persons who prepared the blanks do not appear to have had any conception of the magnitude of the work which they were undertaking. They imposed a task upon the railroads which must cost them hundreds of thousands of dollars in preparing the original returns, and which it will involve great labor and expenditure to digest properly. Not contenting themselves with a few of the more important matters on the lines indicated by the act of Congress, to which subsequent inquiries could be added from year to year, as the necessity was felt for them, the Commission has sought to obtain statistics more complete and more detailed than those of any other country in the world, plus a vast amount of past history which is often obscure and sometimes absolutely unknown to any one living. It is no wonder that the Commission and the railroads were both, to a certain extent, swamped with the work thus laid out. Although the blanks were issued in their final form more than six months ago, it has been impossible to obtain

returns available for tabulation from more than about 120,000 miles of railroad, nor have the results from these been put in shape to be printed. The statistician faces his work courageously, but he has not been able to push it forward rapidly.

A more serious criticism is that the few results given us are very far from being correct. Only one table has been published which purports to give complete returns. It is that of railway mileage by States and Territories. A summary of this is given with the proportion of each State to the total mileage of the country, as well as that to each square mile of territory. The report describes these figures as showing "the length of line existing in each of the States and Territories on June 30, 1888." How do the figures compare with actual facts? Idaho is given as having only $63\frac{1}{2}$ miles of railroad; in point of fact, it had about 850. Iowa is credited with 3,497 miles; in point of fact, it had at least 8,300 miles. On the other hand, Illinois is credited with 16,172 miles, or more than $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total mileage of the United States; while the proportion of railroads in Illinois to each square mile of territory is made out to be nearly as great as that of Massachusetts, and far larger than that of any other State. But in point of fact, the railroad mileage of Illinois was but hardly 10,000 miles, and there were several other States besides Massachusetts which were better supplied with railroads in proportion to their territorial extent. Other errors somewhat less marked in amount appear throughout the whole table.

What is the explanation of this? In the absence of details, it is impossible to be perfectly sure. But the figures correspond closely to the mileage owned by companies organized in the several States, and it is fair to presume that the table has been made out on this basis. The location of the office making the report rather than that of the railroad itself has been made the standard. For instance, the lines which centre in Chicago and run across the State of Iowa have been credited to Illinois, and have been made the means of adding several thousand miles to the latter State at the expense of the former. Of course, if the results are made up in this way, no special interest attaches to the relation between mileage and area. It becomes a mere accident of finance or corporation law where the mileage is credited. The whole series of calculations is rendered useless. It is a mere chance that many of them come out so nearly right as they do. Kansas, for instance, loses the mileage of companies organized further East, but gains that of the Atchison Line in the Southwest; that the two so nearly balance is a mere accident.

The fact that so serious a mistake has been made in the only complete results which are given us is a clear indication that the office is overworked. If matters cannot be digested more carefully or successfully than this, it seems unfortunate that the attempt should be made to accomplish so much. A few questions carefully answered and well tabulated are worth a great deal more than an

imperfect presentation of a vast number of details. We have no desire to criticise too severely the work of the statistician, surrounded as he is by difficulties; but the results before us furnish a reason for reducing rather than for increasing the amount to be thrown upon his shoulders. We believe that it is far sounder policy to begin by getting a few things correctly, and then to increase the scope of the work from time to time, than to tabulate a great many things carelessly, and trust to a gradual attainment of higher standards of accuracy.

THE RAILROAD AGREEMENT.

The provisional agreement of the presidents of the railroads southwest of Chicago, adopted at the meeting at Mr. Morgan's house on Thursday, is the most important event in business since the passage of the Inter-State Commerce Act. It is the first rational attempt at self-help since the short-haul and anti-pooling clauses of that Act abolished the old methods of traffic. No such self-help was possible so long as anybody looked to Congress for relief. Those who fancied themselves strong and those who knew themselves to be weak equally felt constrained to carry on a ruinous war until either the Commerce Commission, or the people, or the gods should be moved by pity to do something for them. When all hope of external aid had disappeared, and when self-help was the only alternative to bankruptcy, they began to ask seriously whether they might not find a refuge in the principles of honor among gentlemen and responsibility to their shareholders. Probably the quest would have been unavailing had not the banking-houses taken the initiative. The latter, representing the investing public, and holding the means for building new lines, and able to prevent, or at all events to restrain, the building of such lines, were, of course, a very important part of the railroad machinery of the country. There was no leaving them out. Even if the initiative had come from the railroad men themselves, it would have been necessary to call in the bankers. When the latter took the first step, and said, "We will coöperate to save the investments already made, even if we have to forego some future profits," one formidable difficulty was removed. It may or may not be true that the bankers went further, and resolved in the last extremity to appeal to the shareholders against the warring presidents. What we know is, that they did take the first step, and that the result has been an agreement to transact business on the principle of live and let live, to which honor and responsibility are the indispensable adjuncts.

The agreement provisionally made seems to be sufficient for the time being. But the public have seen agreements so often shattered within a few weeks or months of the signing, that they will doubt the efficacy of this one. Time alone can restore confidence in railroad investments after the many and serious disappointments that have been met with during the past five years. Has the present agreement, if it shall be accepted by

all the companies concerned, the elements of permanency? Can any compact of railroad presidents and bankers take the place of that control which must in the long run go with ownership? Can any new understanding resist the powerful shocks that have shattered the old ones, unless the shareholders take the same intelligent interest in the management of their railroad property that they do in their professions, their shops, their ordinary means of livelihood? The stockholders own the railroad, and depute the directors or managers to administer it as their trustees. But the rapid and enormous growth of the railroad system has left the stockholders far in the rear. The decisive feature of ownership, the right to elect directors, has been dwarfed till it is scarcely a reality. Control once secured, the party in power, or a small clique within the party, usually manages to prolong its control until office becomes a personal or family perquisite. They ask officially for proxies, and proxies are indifferently sent to them. Indifference on the part of stockholders has been so common that even their existing powers in this respect are scarcely exercised, while the attempts to improve them by new legislation are few and far between. There are good statutes, here and there, as, for instance, in favor of minority representation or against the official request for proxies; but in most cases the annual meeting is a mere form, in which the candidates and the electors seem alike predestined. The present crisis throws a vivid light on this practical apathy; for the new agreement can produce lasting good only if it leads the way to a fresh and habitual exercise of intelligent ownership.

The response of London to the above action is by no means effusive. It is tinged with the bitter memories of past agreements which have been made only to be violated and to be followed by secret rate-cutting and more savage wars. We have been at pains to obtain the opinions of one of the most conservative railroad men in the country on the underlying difficulties of the situation west of Chicago, for the purpose of learning whether these difficulties are curable or not. We give them as nearly as possible in his own words. In the first place, railroad competition is peculiar in this, that the percentage of the total expense which is practically fixed, and goes on whether much business or little is transacted, is larger than it is in trade generally. Another peculiarity is, that the service which is sold is a commodity that cannot be stored away and kept for a better market. Practically, all of the business is now competitive, although it was not always so; and if a service is not sold to-day because the price is unsatisfactory, that which might have been sold to-day is never sold — and yet a large percentage of its cost, that is, the fixed proportion of the expenses, has been incurred and paid by the company. Thus it happens that there is no other business which is so sensitive to the natural law of competition as the business of transportation by rail. Under conditions of freedom, therefore, the history of railroads in this country is a record of sharp competition, constantly decreasing

rates, rapid increase in the value of land, and rapid growth in general trade and manufactures. As railroads increased in numbers, it was found that this sensitiveness to the law of competition tended to carry them to extremes, to wars of extermination ending in consolidation; and as present owners, as a rule, did not wish to exhaust their property for the sake of forcing their neighbors into bankruptcy, even the strongest and best-located lines, and those most likely to survive a contest to the end, were willing to join each other and their weaker neighbors in agreeing upon rates.

But experience demonstrated quite early in railroad development that a mere agreement to maintain rates could accomplish little. It was not difficult for shippers to create suspicion of each other among railroad managers and their necessarily widespread agencies, and with a commodity on hand and for sale which had been largely paid for, and could not be kept for the next day or the next week, it was wise to sell rather than lose the opportunity, even if only a small part of this fixed expense could be recouped. The problem then was to find a way to increase the confidence of managers and agents in each other; and this was to some extent accomplished by appointing common agencies to collate statistics and divide the traffic, or the revenue from it, upon some agreed basis, among the various competitors. This pooling method of management, while far from perfect, was a great help, and was tending towards greater perfection when Congress enacted an Inter State Law. This law practically denied to railroads the right of combination.

Shortly before the enactment of the law, several new trunk lines had been built or undertaken west of Chicago. Even without the Inter-State Law, it is reasonable to suppose that these new roads, with their inequalities in length and otherwise, would have reduced the revenues of the older lines. There were more to divide the business; and there would have been pretty radical differences of opinion about percentages in the pools and other matters, so that it is more than likely some of the questions coming up would not have been settled without contests and reduced rates. But the Inter-State Law greatly added to the embarrassments of the situation.

Difficult as it is to maintain rates by mere agreements, even among roads which are about equal in point of distance, equipment, and terminals, the difficulty is much greater when inferior roads become parties to the contest for business and to the agreements about rates. It is obvious that an old road, with an established business, having pretty direct lines between commercial centres, can afford to maintain rates and let business go where it will, provided its competitors will do the same thing. But this is equivalent to saying that a new road without an established business, or a road with an indirect or a long line between the same commercial centres, cannot afford to sit still and let the business take its course, because, at equal rates, business will, under such circumstances, go mostly by the older and more

direct lines. It is obvious, also, that the older and more direct lines cannot afford to sit still and permit the new or the indirect line to fix its rates materially lower than theirs, unless by agreement and with proper safeguards, because it would be easy to make differences on certain commodities which would turn the traffic entirely by the new or indirect line. The pools enabled the railroads to meet this difficulty by compensating the lines least able to take care of themselves at equal rates. It seems pretty clear, therefore, that, with the number of new roads west of Chicago and a law against pools, much demoralization was to be expected.

It is easy to say that the railroads can agree upon rates and maintain them if they choose, and all be the richer; so it is easy to say that, if all the nations of Europe would disarm and keep the peace, all would be richer. As a matter of fact, however, the railroads would not all be the richer if equal rates were absolutely maintained, because the inferior lines would get very little, if any, of the competitive traffic under the circumstances. Then, again, the difficulty of agreeing upon through-rates, and of keeping the agreement, if one is made, even among the lines which are equal as competitors for the through-traffic, is much increased by the long and short-haul restrictions of the law, because the road with a considerable intermediate business, the rates upon which are affected by the through-rates, has a very different interest in the through-rates from the road without such intermediate traffic. So it is easy to see that the complications are almost endless. Now, no line, new or old, weak or strong, is going to give up the ghost without a life-and-death struggle. No agreement, whether made by the railroad presidents among themselves, or by the presidents and bankers together, is worth a rush which does not recognize this fact. The law of self-preservation will assert itself always and everywhere. One of two things will happen: either the weaker lines must have business enough allotted to them by agreement to keep them out of the receiver's hands, or the fight must go on until they are worn out, and sold to the stronger at half their cost, as the West Shore Road was sold to the New York Central. If such an agreement can be made, it is obvious that an impartial tribunal must be in session to decide what proportion of traffic ought to and must suffice for the needs of the weaker lines.

If such an agreement be put in force, and maintained for a fixed period, say sixty days, there will be time and opportunity to learn whether economies can be introduced in operation to offset the losses which excessive competition has entailed. Here is a hopeful field for inquiry. Undoubtedly, there has been great waste in the scramble for business. While gross earnings have been increasing, net earnings have fallen off. Some of the increased expenditures, which might have been avoided in the beginning, cannot now be thrown off, but probably much may be curtailed under a supervision in which all have confidence.

POLICIES, SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN.

SENATOR SHERMAN is entitled to great credit for having exposed the utter absurdity of the talk about Gen. Harrison's "Southern policy," of which we have heard so much from Republican organs the last few weeks. On Tuesday, January 8, Mr. Sherman introduced "a bill to make and alter regulations as to the times, places, and manner of holding elections for Representatives in Congress," accompanying it with the following remarks:

"I desire to state that the bill has been prepared by a very able gentleman, familiar with the election laws of both Northern and Southern States. It is absolutely non-partisan in its character. It contains all the provisions, so far as I know, that have ever been suggested with a view to securing an absolutely fair and just election in every part of the United States. It is confined to the election of members of Congress. It is uniform, and modifies the regulations and laws of the several States so as to embody, I think, as perfect a form of election law as can be devised or gathered from the election laws of the several States. Many of its provisions are rather novel to me, because they are founded upon the laws of the Southern States, with which I am not familiar, and many of its provisions are drawn from the laws of the Northern States, where they have been proven by experience to be necessary. I am not at liberty to give the name of the author of the proposed law, because it is not material, and he does not wish to be mentioned in connection with it. He lets the measure stand upon its own merits. I merely make this statement to show that I am not entirely responsible for the bill, although I believe its merits are very marked and deserving of the consideration of the Senate."

The bill in question provides that after May 1, 1890, elections for Representatives in Congress shall be conducted under the system provided for by the bill, and holds out a bribe to the Legislatures of the various States to place the choice of Presidential electors under the same system by an offer to have the expense of the latter election in such case paid out of the Federal Treasury. This distinction is drawn because the Constitution makes the choice of Presidential electors a purely State matter, except in the unimportant detail of the time for choosing them and the day on which they shall cast their votes, which are left to Congress; while Congress is expressly authorized to make or alter regulations as to the times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, "except as to the place of choosing Senators."

The Sherman scheme authorizes the President to appoint in each State five qualified voters, to be known as the Board of State Canvassers, and in each Congressional district three voters as an Electoral Board. All these are to hold office during good behavior—in other words, for life—subject, of course, to impeachment for misconduct. The Electoral Board of each Congressional district shall appoint a registrar and three judges, not all of the same political party, for each election district or precinct, and may increase the number of voting precincts whenever in their judgment necessary to secure a free and fair ballot. These election officers are to hold their offices for six years, subject to removal for misconduct. These Federal officials are to register the voters, count the ballots, "correct irregulari-

ties," and declare whatever result seems to them best.

It will be seen that the Sherman bill would take the entire control of the Congressional elections in each State out of the hands of the people of that State, and place it in the hands of men appointed for life by the President. While undoubtedly within the strict letter of the Constitution, which authorizes Congress to make any regulations it chooses about Congressional elections, the scheme is utterly opposed to the spirit of that instrument, to the traditions of our political history, and to the proper relations between the Federal and State Governments. Undoubtedly, if Senator Sherman had proposed a "rigorous" policy like this for application solely to the Southern States, it would have been heartily endorsed by the Republicans as the right sort of a "Southern policy." But Senator Sherman knows, as scarcely any Republican editors appear to know, that any regulations which Congress may make as to the manner of holding Congressional elections must be uniform throughout the Union, and apply to Maine or California, Massachusetts or Ohio, equally with the South. In other words, if you are going to have a "rigorous" policy in one part of the country, you must have a "rigorous" policy in all parts.

It is amusing to observe the indignation expressed by Northern Republicans who have been demanding that the Federal Government should "do something" about elections at the South when they find that whatever is done at the South must be done also at the North. No sooner was it understood that Mr. Sherman's plan would turn over the control of Congressional elections in Northern (as well as Southern) States to officials appointed in Washington, than Northern Republicans answered that it would never do. Congressman Cooper of Ohio, who is a member of the House Elections Committee, said that he would oppose Federal supervision if it tended to Federal control over State elections. "I do not believe," he added, "there ought to be any invasion of State rights unless absolutely required. Such a broad assumption of power as that proposed by Senator Sherman's bill would receive careful consideration before the Republican members of the Elections Committee would agree to it." Congressman Powell of Illinois, another member of the same Committee, said that the Sherman bill does not strike him favorably, as "it is entirely too sweeping." An attempt at Federal control of elections, he thinks, would probably excite a deal of hostility and fail to accomplish its purpose. No matter how strict the law is, fair elections, in his opinion, depend largely on public sentiment.

In the same vein is the sharp criticism of the Worcester *Spy*, a Massachusetts Republican paper of the highest standing, which, after some reference to details, says:

"A more serious matter is the fact that Senator Sherman's plan would establish a new and distinct system of registration and election in every State, entirely independent of and separate from the State election system; and this intrusion of an external authority, and substitution of a novel and separate election machinery for that which

is familiar, established by State authority, and conducted by local officers, would be unwelcome and irritating everywhere, and not least in those States and communities where elections have always been conducted with substantial fairness. The plan of giving to members of canvassing and electoral boards a life tenure will scarcely commend itself to the general judgment. As politicians, having personal or party ends to serve, they might easily be led into misconduct which would make their continuance in office undesirable, but would not, perhaps, be sufficient to insure their removal by impeachment. Altogether, Mr. Sherman has not, by this bill, enhanced his reputation for statesmanship.

"DELPHI IN THE MARKET."

Such was the announcement made on Monday night at a small gathering of gentlemen convened by Bishop Potter to hear from Prof. Norton of Harvard an appeal for funds to complete the purchase. We do not mean Delphi, N. Y., or Delphi, Tenn., or Delphi, Ind., or Delphi, Mo., but the original Delphi in Greece, the seat of the oracle, and the site of the most famous temple in the world. Ever since Greece settled down in peace and quiet, and improved steam communication began to bring her within easy reach of the Western World, eagerness to excavate her soil in search of the remains of her splendid antiquity has spread through the leading western nations, and there has, of course, been more or less competition for excavating privileges. The Germans have got Olympia, the site of the most famous temple of Jupiter, where they have been digging with remarkable results; the Greeks themselves are working at the Acropolis at Athens, and the English, Germany, and England have all had schools, containing corps of explorers, in Greece for some years. The United States have maintained one for the last six years, founded by the Archeological Institute, and supported thus far by contributions from a number of American colleges, most of them ill-able to give.

But of all sites for exploration, none compares to Delphi, the great shrine of the ancient world, where Apollo prophesied for a thousand years, and the Amphycytic Council sat. The French some years ago obtained a refusal of it from the Greek Government, and were to have had the final concession under a commercial treaty which has been for some time in negotiation, but which the French Senate has just refused to ratify. This event throws the concession once more open to all the world, and the Greek Government has offered it to the Americans; but it will cost \$80,000, as the modern village of Castri, which now stands on the ground, will have to be bought out and removed. It is to raise this sum, if possible, that Prof. Norton, on behalf of the Archeological Institute, came here, on Bishop Potter's invitation. The opportunity will not remain open very long. The French and Germans will jump at it, and in their case the needed money comes out of the public treasury, because it is an old and settled tradition of theirs that the encouragement of art and literature and science is one of the leading functions of government. So that the work of ex-

cavation there is sure to be done; but the glory of it and the direct instruction of it will not come to the United States. The railroad from Athens comes within a short distance of the place. In a year Delphi will certainly be not more than half a day from Athens, and Athens will be in railroad communication with the rest of Europe, so that the Castalian spring may before long receive more visitors than it ever did in ancient days.

It, of course, at first sight seems rather hard on the rich men of America, who have to do nearly all that is done to found and maintain institutions of art and learning in their own country, that they should be called on to furnish the means of delving in the soil of Greece for the relics of ancient piety or learning; but, as Prof. Norton pointed out on Monday night, if there be any value whatever in the study, now pursued in our colleges, of the art and literature and philosophy of the ancient world—and nobody denies it some value—it must hereafter, in order to be pursued effectively, be pursued in connection with the explorations which are being carried on both in Asia and Europe on the sites of Greek and Roman and Egyptian temples and cities. These explorations have already almost revolutionized our knowledge of the Greek and Roman world.

The American School at Athens is now in possession of a good house, constantly occupied by a small corps of American explorers, under the superintendence of an "annual director," sent in succession by one of the colleges. It is sorely in need of an endowment of \$100,000 to maintain—or as we say, "run"—the house permanently, and keep a permanent director, who would give the work greater continuity and a more intelligent supervision than can be supplied by the annual detail from the United States. A fourth of this sum has been subscribed in Boston. New York is appealed to to make up the remainder. New Yorkers have plenty of money, and have seldom been appealed to in vain; but no such appeal as this has ever been made to their cultivated imagination, and its result will be interesting. The man who feels that America ought to have the glory of laying bare the foundations of the Temple of Apollo and of the hall in which the Amphycytic Council sat, may be sure that the culture which is worshipped so much and joked over so much has entered into his veins, though he may not know how.

THE TOTAL SOLAR ECLIPSE.

THE extent of the astronomical harvest gathered in on the afternoon of New Year's Day is already pretty well known, although the critical gleaning of results is as yet only just begun. The daily prints have announced the remarkable good fortune which fell to the lot of the eclipse observers everywhere, in that the area or belt of total obscuration of the sun was practically cloudless throughout its entire extent, from the Pacific Coast to Manitoba. It is doubtful if any eclipse region in the last quarter-century has been equally fa-

vored; and although the present number of scientific expeditions has often before been exceeded, in consequence of more attractive weather probabilities or a longer duration of the total phase, there is perhaps the best of reasons for the belief that the outcome of all the observations of this astronomical event will exceed in importance that of any previous eclipse.

This view is, of course, based on the supposition that all the photographic work already done, in the shape of exposing dry plates in specialized cameras and telescopes, comes out on development quite as expected; and the elaborate preparation, the thorough adjustment and painstaking drill, which all the parties for the most part went through with, encourages the belief that no slips worth mentioning have been made. At the same time, the dry plate photography, now so powerful and helpful an adjunct in all astronomical research, has the significant drawback that the operator who exposes the plates automatically is, to some extent, working in the dark, and has no means of knowing the blunders he may be making until it is too late to correct them.

A fortnight and more ago the most important preparations for the eclipse were noted in our columns, and we have here to call attention to the successful carrying out of all these plans on the part of the astronomers who had made them—to summarize, in so far as present indications will admit, the additions to solar science which appear likely, and to relate the interesting story of the rapid gathering of the news of what the observers had everywhere succeeded in accomplishing.

Harvard's expedition, under the direction of Mr. W. H. Pickering, and stationed in the Sacramento Valley, achieved the most marked success, and one well worthy the ingenuity displayed in the variety and novelty of their apparatus. It seems not too much to hope that their broad spectroscopic attack of the sun's prominences, and the corona particularly, may lead to results which will render this eclipse fully as significant in the solar physics of today as were those of a score of years ago in that time. The detailed forms of this apparatus were such as to include in the most ample manner every part of the coronal spectrum, and with a thoroughness never before attempted. About twenty plates are available for the subsequent study of this spectrum. The great thirteen-inch Boyden telescope, with a lens specially corrected for photographic work, was successfully operated in securing eight large-scale pictures of the sun's corona, and these appear certain to be the finest representations of this strange object ever obtained. Their size is an important consideration, as heretofore the photographs of the corona have mostly required subsequent enlargement, or the application of much magnifying power in making drawings of the details of their filamentary structure. None of these plates are yet developed, but the evidence already in, both in the shape of drawings made by expert artists and of photographic plates already developed, goes to show that this corona is perhaps the most marvellous one ever observed, both in the wealth and complexity of its detail, the irregularity of its structure, and the vast extent of its streamers outward from the sun. The abundant materials just collected will, when fully discussed, contribute in great degree to the further perfection of solar theories. It need only be said here that the type of corona appears to repeat itself in a period about the same as that of the solar spots, the corona of 1880 strongly resembling that

of 1868, as drawn by Bullock and reproduced in Prof. Young's 'The Sun'; also that of 1878, as represented by the work of the eclipse observers in our Western States on that occasion, and abundantly pictured in the reports issued by the United States Naval Observatory. Its general appearance was that of a pyramidal wisp of light extending out zodiacally on the east side of the sun, while in the opposite direction was a much more extensive coronal blaze, cleft near the middle, and quite of the fish-tail type.

About the solar poles the drawings show an interlacing of filaments heretofore unknown, both straight and curved and intertwined in the most intricate forms, and strongly suggesting the plausibility of the notion that the physicist must bestow a deal of labor on the question of their origin and structure if the problems of the sun's heat are to be solved in their most general form. Not less important are the long ecliptic streamers, amply observed both visually and photographically, stretching outward even further from the sun than when they were first discovered in 1878. Their appearance will perhaps go a long way towards supporting the theory of an ecliptic ring about the sun, temporarily formed and maintained during the period of minimum spots.

The quest of the existence of intra-mercurial planets will be conclusively settled, no doubt, on the development of the plates used in the eight inch Bache telescope of the Harvard party, with which five exposures were made. Other searchers, optically, were unsuccessful; comets, two in number, were reported to have been found, but this was subsequently contradicted on the direct authority of the reputed observer, Dr. W. L. Elkin of the Yale Observatory.

The meteorological observers, Prof. Upton, Mr. Rotch, and others, were enabled to gain much information bearing directly on their line of research. The approach of the moon's cold shadow caused the thermometer to read seven degrees lower, but the fluctuations of the barometer were so slight as to be quite imperceptible. This result is now established beyond reasonable doubt for all coming eclipses, and this instrument may properly be eliminated in the observation of future phenomena of a like sort. The fall of dew is generally influenced by the presence of the lunar shadow cone, but this is quite likely a result of local conditions, as no dew was observed to fall during the recent eclipse. The peculiar behavior of the wind is not easy to account for, but meteorologists have better data now than ever before. It veered about towards the west, and its velocity first diminished, and afterwards increased—perhaps an effect of some change in the vapor conditions of the atmosphere.

The curious stripes of light and dark which always flit across the landscape just before and immediately after the sun's total obscuration, were in some places well marked, and in others only faintly seen, though very carefully looked for. Their behavior is most puzzling, and they will remain perhaps as much a mystery as ever, though Prof. Upton has data for the solution of the problem which have never before been secured. They were very faint at his station at Willow, but he momentarily saw them nearly stationary upon the white screen he had set up to receive them, and accordingly made an exposure with his camera to photograph them. Ordinarily these shadow-fringes are seen swiftly traversing the surrounding objects with a velocity much in excess of that of any human locomotion, and our best theory of their cause makes them an ef-

fect of irregular atmospheric refraction. They seem to proceed with the wind, at least in direction; but it is not yet known whether their velocity has any definite relation to the local wind velocity. One observer is reported to have seen the shadow-bands during the period of total eclipse—a novel observation; and others, who were ignorant of the existence of the shadow-bands, describe certain phenomena of the eclipse as "visible wind"—undoubtedly attributable to the shadow-fringes.

The usual natural eclipse-effects were conspicuous, and have been accurately reported in full detail. Domestic creatures of all sorts began at midday their preparations for the night, fowls going to roost, cows coming home, etc., etc.; and Digger Indians were observed to go to bed.

The instructions mentioned previously as sent out by Prof. Todd to many amateurs and intelligent residents along the line of total eclipse, have brought in a valuable return. Nearly a hundred drawings of the sun's corona have been thus obtained at very slight cost, and they show, not only the pictorial effect of the entire object, but the complexity of curved filaments about the solar poles, while many of the observers devoted their attention, with excellent results, to the long zodiacal streamers which were more difficult to depict, as the eyes must be very sensitive to the faintest light, and the greatest care must be exercised to make the streamers visible at all and to prevent ocular deception. The main reliance of astronomers for information of the appearance of these strange and puzzling phenomena must rest upon the optical sketches willingly contributed in this manner. The photographic plates are hardly sensitive enough to record them in the brief duration of total eclipse, and the professional astronomers have themselves been too busily occupied with their own apparatus to take the time to draw them.

A matter of interest in connection with this eclipse, or rather the reporting of the results reached by the numerous observers, as effected by our zealous and enterprising contemporary, the New York *Herald*, is worthy of mention here. Nearly ten years ago, Prof. Todd, in a paper before one of our scientific bodies, directed attention to the fact that the telegraph and cable lines of the globe might advantageously be called into the service of eclipse observers. For example, if an important and novel observation should chance to be made at a station near the west end of the track of totality, it appeared to be feasible to despatch it eastward, in advance of the moon's shadow, to some observer located near the eastern end of the shadow-path, in abundant time for verification of the possible discovery when the eclipse should become total there. Astronomers have not yet carried out this proposed plan, but the operations of the news-gatherers for the *Herald*, under the immediate supervision of Prof. Todd, have proved the idea a perfectly practicable one. For the purpose of testing the feasibility of this suggestion, and with its usual liberality in all matters scientific, the Western Union Telegraph Company gave Prof. Todd the free use of a line some 3,000 miles long, in an unbroken circuit, and reaching from New York city to the principal stations where the eclipse was observed. It was thus possible to secure nearly immediate knowledge in New York of the successes or otherwise of the various parties. Notwithstanding some unavoidable delays, the message communicating the main results of the Harvard expedition was received in the *Herald* office in cipher, translated to the stenographer, written out for the

compositor, and the proof pulled and read within an hour of the absolute time when the moon's shadow passed over the eclipse-station at Willow, Cal. The practicability of the telegraph as a possibly useful adjunct in the observation of total eclipses of the sun is thus demonstrated, and it remains to be seen whether astronomers will avail themselves of it on the next favorable opportunity, some ten years hence.

HONORÉ FRAGONARD.

PARIS, December 26, 1888.

THERE are books which speak for themselves, and address themselves to the eye as much as or more than to the mind. To this class belongs the magnificent volume just published by Baron Roger Portalis, under the title 'Honoré Fragonard: His Life and His Work.' As many as two hundred and ten engravings appear in this book, made from the original paintings and drawings of this famous master. Fragonard holds a very high rank in the French school of the eighteenth century, which was almost forgotten after the French Revolution, under the influence of the school of David, but which is now the object of a great return of favor.

Baron Portalis has devoted much time and care to the study of the masters of the eighteenth century, and has already published very interesting works upon the engravers and book-illustrators of this time. Fragonard was one of these illustrators. He made, for instance, a series of fine drawings to illustrate La Fontaine's 'Contes.' Some of these drawings were engraved, and are found in a well-known edition of La Fontaine; some others, made towards 1780, were not engraved at the time. The volume which contained them was bought in 1840 by a bookseller for 800 francs; these fifty-seven drawings were sold in 1844 for 1,200 francs to M. Feuillet de Conches, a well-known collector. Baron Portalis bought them from M. Feuillet de Conches for 17,500 francs. These figures will show how differently Fragonard was appreciated at a few years' interval. But the rise in value did not stop there. These very same drawings were a little while ago bought from a French bookseller, into whose hands they had come, for the sum of 50,000 francs. I give these figures only in order to show how high Fragonard now stands with the lovers of French art, especially of the light art which found its most elegant expression during the reign of Louis XV. In 1865 the brothers Goncourt published an interesting fascicule on Fragonard, in the series of 'Portraits of the Artists of the Eighteenth Century.' Their monograph, however, is imperfect, and they did not know many of Fragonard's pictures and drawings.

Jean Honoré Fragonard was born in Provence, at Grasse, on April 5, 1732. Grasse is the country of perfumes, and furnishes Paris with its flowers. The father of Fragonard was a glove-maker; he ruined himself, and sent his son to Paris. The young man went to the atelier of Chardin, and was recommended to Boucher; he was soon remarked, obtained a prize, and was sent to Rome. He paid a parting visit to Boucher, who said to him, "My dear Frago, [he was always called in this abbreviated manner, and himself signed many of his works "Frago,"] you will see in Italy the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo, but I say to you in confidence, and as a friend, if you treat these fellows (*ces gens-là*) seriously, you are a lost man." Fragonard was much moved by these fellows. He related his first emotions to a

friend: "The energy of Michael Angelo frightened me. When I saw the beauties of Raphael I was moved to tears, and the pencil fell from my hands." He remained for a few months quite powerless, and he only recommended drawing when he was before such painters as Baroccio, Pietro da Cortona, Tiepolo. His first copy was from a picture of Cortona's.

He became intimate in Rome with Hubert Robert (famous for his views of Rome), and with Saint-Non, the amateur engraver and etcher, an abbé, who took Fragonard with him to Tivoli and to the Villa d'Este. We owe to this journey some of the most beautiful of Fragonard's drawings. They returned together to France, travelling by short stages in a *retturino*. Fragonard had remained five years in Italy. He soon became acquainted with the littérateurs of the time. Italy had not modified him so completely that he did not quickly feel the influence of the Parisian *milieu*; he soon forgot the severe lessons of ancient Rome, and gave himself up to what is still called the *peinture de genre*, abandoning classical painting for ever. He did well, for even his copies of the classics show how little he was able to enter into their spirit. He was essentially modern, frivolous, addicted to pleasure; he was in harmony with the elegant but corrupt society of the rich *fermiers-généraux* and their wives, of the *abbés galants* of the Saint-Non type, of the famous amateurs of the time, who liked to adorn their rooms with such pictures as "Les Baigneuses," "La Fuite à dessin," "Le Début du Modèle," "La Fontaine d'Amour," "Le Sacrifice de la Rose," "Le Veau à l'Amour," "La Toilette de Vénus." I give the names of the first pictures which made Fragonard's reputation, and which marked at once the peculiar character of his talent. He became rapidly the favorite of gay society, of the nymphs of the opera and their protectors. In 1770 he began the decorations of the "Temple of Terpsichore," as people called the new hôtel of the famous Guimard. Some of the painted panels of this house have been preserved, as well as the portrait of Mlle. Guimard. Grimm tells a story about these decorations: Fragonard, like most artists, did not much like to receive directions, and did like to work at his own hours. "Will you never be done?" said Guimard to him one day. "Oh! it is all done," said Fragonard. He went away and never came back. David, then quite unknown and still very young, was chosen in his place. Guimard became embarrassed in her affairs, and had the curious idea of putting her house in a lottery. There were 2,500 tickets at 120 livres apiece. The house was won by the Countess Du Lau. Fragonard quarrelled also with Mme. DuBarry, for whom he made the decorations of the principal drawing-room of Louveciennes; he kept these decorations for himself, and they remained twenty years in his studio. They are now preserved at Grasse, and they are the best specimens of Fragonard's first manner.

Fragonard married in 1769 Marie Anne Gérard, who was born in Grasse, and had come to Paris, where she made her living by painting fans. This marriage was the beginning of a new life. Fragonard and his wife lived much in the country, and the painter now shows us constantly episodes of rural and family life. He had two children, and they often became his models. If he returns sometimes to his first manner, and paints scenes which, with all their grace, are often immodest, it is because he received special orders from his admirers. However, he delights still to paint love scenes, and with a degree of warmth and animation which has never been surpassed. The Gon-

courts have, in this respect, compared him with truth to Diderot: Fragonard is as sensual, as fervid. "Does not," they say, "a picture of Fragonard's resemble a page of Diderot?"

Fragonard returned to Italy in 1773, with a friend, Bergeret de Grandcour, who has left a journal of the journey, which is inedited, but which Portalis has seen, and he gives an account of all the episodes—visits to the museums and churches, receptions, dinners at the French Embassy, presentation to the Pope. Bergeret was one of the great financiers of his time, and, like so many of them, had a great love of the fine arts. The long extracts given from the journal are amusing. Bergeret was, however, the poorest of writers; he makes one think all the time of the "Bourgeois gentilhomme." He quarrelled with Fragonard about the drawings made by the artist during the journey; the financier kept them, maintaining that they belonged to him, while Fragonard said that they were his own. The quarrel ended in a law-court, and Bergeret was condemned either to give back the drawings to Fragonard or to pay him a sum of 30,000 livres, which the financier preferred to do. M. Portalis doubts that the sum was ever really paid. He believes that an arrangement took place after the judgment, for he thinks that in his later pictures Fragonard often used the studies made in this second tour in Italy.

Fragonard had now an atelier in the Louvre, and gained about 40,000 francs a year, which was opulence before the French Revolution. This Revolution was a blow to the artist, not only because it altered all the conditions of his life, but also because it substituted an entirely new ideal of art for the ideal of the eighteenth century. Fragonard consoled himself philosophically for his pecuniary losses. He had 18,000 francs in the public funds; when the interest was reduced by two-thirds, he began to dance in his room. "Are you mad?" asked his wife. "No, but I am rejoiced." "Why?" "Because they might have taken everything." The protection of David, who had been one of his pupils, and who was now in the ascendant, shielded him from persecution. By David's influence, he became a member of the National Museum of Art, but he had lost all interest in his own work; the triumph of the new school was too much for him. He tried modestly to change his manner, to abandon his light and graceful compositions; he made himself heavy and what was then called classical, in order to paint, like David, Greeks and Romans. But, as La Fontaine says:

"Ne foyons point notre talent;
Nous ne ferions rien avec grâce."

Fragonard is not only beneath himself, he is beneath the most ordinary painters of the school of David, in such compositions as "The Senate Deliberating on Peace or War" and "Shutting of the Temple of Janus." He became very timid, and lived in great fear of the Commune of Paris. He became poor, but he never fell into a state of complete poverty, having many affectionate relations and friends. In 1794 he left Paris for Grasse, his native place, where he became the guest of his friends the Mauberts.

When the storm was over, he returned to Paris, but he was already forgotten; he belonged to another age. The public admired now such pictures as David's "Serment des Horaces"; even his sister-in-law's (Mlle. Gérard) pictures were preferred to his own. In 1806 he was obliged to abandon his apartment in the Louvre (what is now the great gallery had been for two hundred years cut up into apartments, given to artists). He died at the

age of seventy-four years, on the 23d of August, 1806, in a house on the Butte des Moulins (the street was entirely cut away during the Second Empire). The work which Baron Portalis has given us on Fragonard is full of curious details; it ends with a complete iconography of the painter, containing as many as 176 numbers.

Correspondence.

THE SOLIDARITY OF REFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: While the result of the late elections seems as bad as possible—a victory of the spoils, by the spoils, and for the spoils, both in the State of New York and in the nation—yet there remains the most interesting political situation known within twenty years certainly. Civil-service reform has been advocated, and a "painful inch" of progress has been made, under one or two administrations, only to discover that further progress is blocked by the want of tariff reform. The beneficiaries of our present tariff give high official position to those who, in return, will guard their interests in Congress, and will influence all appointments in the public service to place men useful to these private interests on guard in their behalf. Therefore, civil-service reform waits on tariff reform.

In the recent educative campaign the workers in the best sense were very hopeful of success at the polls; but there they were confronted with another evil, and met with defeat and great disappointment. The Presidency was bought, we believe. Thus another reform becomes a prominent necessity. Efforts to reform the tariff are seen to be futile until the real will of the people may be registered. Therefore we must now advocate ballot reform. Congress and the Presidency must no longer be for sale to the highest bidder. Perhaps while we address ourselves to the task of realizing this last-named reform, we may find ourselves forced back upon a still more difficult reform—to secure worthy nominations and to protect them from public sale.

It seems to me that our present duty is clear to work toward all the reforms in sight. The intricacy of the snarl in which our inexpedient tariff has involved us is hardly yet apprehended. When once we do extricate ourselves, the steps of our way out will form a most interesting study. Our absorbing study now must be, how to get out.

Two things suggest themselves to me: Between now and 1892 the best ballot-reform bills which can be passed must be pushed to adoption in as many States as possible. Meanwhile, evidence must be presented and arguments must be urged constantly to show the unwise of retaining the protective principle in our revenue system. Two classes should be easily won—the laborer and the farmer. The former, by the last campaign, is shown to be more easily won than the latter, and we must have both. Many manufacturers whose raw materials are either directly taxed or are the finished product of other industries, and therefore enhanced in price, might seemingly be brought to reason and a right understanding of the proposed reform.

My own interest is in the problem of gaining the farmer, and to this end I propose a plan and desire suggestions. In the last campaign I sent some money to the National Democratic Committee. Perhaps that money helped to buy "floaters in blocks of five," either in Indiana or (odious thought!) in New York for

Hill. Now I purpose to use some money where it will surely do the most good, as it seems to me. I mean to place a small, sound library of political economy in the hands of a Republican farmer, personally known to me, in each of several towns. The offer will be made to give a full set of these books, or their equivalent in value in other books, to the three protectionists of each region who first read the whole list and report that fact to my agent. The original stock of books is to be a gift to my farmer friend for loaning the books and reporting to me.

My chief difficulty is in selecting the most suitable books. Perhaps a greater one may be to get them read! Such books as that of J. S. Moore addressed to farmers will do little good, and possibly serious harm. Objurgation is not a winning style of presenting our case. I take it that the majority of those who believe they profit by the tariff are not consciously robbers; nor does the farmer believe that he is robbed. Therefore it will only prejudice our case to fume and scold. Both the unconscious robber and the unwitting robbed must be shown why our present tariff is injurious and therefore unwise. Supposed self-interest supports the system; only enlightened self-interest can overthrow it.

To my mind the books to begin with are: (1.) Chapin's 'First Principles of Political Economy'; (2.) Francis A. Walker's 'Political Economy' (Advanced Course); (3.) Taussig's 'Tariff History of the United States'; (4.) Fawcett's 'Free Trade and Protection'; (5.) Edward Taylor's 'Is Protection a Benefit?'

The long winter evenings are the farmer's time for reading. The books I have suggested may be read in one winter by many farmers. We have four winters for this kind of work before another Presidential election. Before that time, if this scheme proves feasible, it could be applied in manufacturing centres similarly by friends of tariff reform who are intimate with workmen. These little coteries of intimate acquaintances would appreciate the friendly interest manifested in them, and might be stimulated to investigate so important questions.

A sentence on page 93 of Prof. Fawcett's book puzzles me. Can you explain it? It has reference to the United States, and says: "No article, for instance, is subjected to a higher import duty than timber." On the next page he speaks of "protective duties now imposed on imported iron, amounting in some instances to 100 per cent." Timber bears only 18 to 20 per cent. duty, I believe.

I shall be glad to have suggestions which may improve my plan, or which may better the list of books mentioned. Investment now in the next campaign, through the personal outlay of one's own funds, has its advantage, at least, in securing one's contributions against use for purchasing votes. MILLS WHITTLESEY.

LAWRENCEVILLE, N. J., January 7, 1889.

[In the first particular Prof. Fawcett was in error; in the latter quite right—e. g., in the case of structural iron.—ED. NATION.]

LIBERTY THAT IS ANCIENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Aside from the injustice of protection, there is another aspect of the question that will appeal strongly to men's minds as soon as they begin to look at the case of Protection vs. Free Trade from the moral standpoint: it is the immorality of the mode by which the verdict for the plaintiff has been arrived at

in that case. The rule of law and justice and common sense, that the burden of proof rests on the affirmative, has been set aside by those whom the *Nation* aptly calls the "howling dervishes" of protection; the *onus probandi* has been shifted: instead of being presumed innocent until proved guilty, the accused has been presumed guilty, and called upon to prove his innocence—to prove a negative; and, to cap the climax of absurdity, verdict has been pronounced against him without hearing his case at all.

It is assumed here that the burden of proof rests upon protectionism. If any man doubts this, he had better clear his mind upon this point as soon as possible, for to a candid mind the difference is enormous. If the burden of proof rests upon protectionism, then the presumption is in favor of free trade. The affirmative must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt, and, if any doubt exists, we who deny are entitled to the benefit of it.

The advocates of protection, so far as I have examined what they call their arguments, have never undertaken to show that the burden of proof is on their opponents: they have simply ignored the general rule that the presumption is in favor of innocence rather than guilt, of liberty rather than any abridgement of liberty. An unfair advantage is given them in the fact that protection is established. Of this they have availed themselves to the utmost. Precedent outweighs abstract principles; long established custom hardens into law. We have allowed those who profit at our expense by protection to plunder us so long that it doubtless seems to them insolent in us to object at this late day.

"Who'd expect to see a tater
All on end at bein' biled?"

Protection has everything in its favor but logic and reason, truth and justice. It has prescription, antiquity, and the authority of great names. But the wildest and most baleful delusions have had all these. If Blaine, Sherman, and the Rev. Edward Everett Hale believe in protection, Cotton Mather, John Wesley, and Sir Matthew Hale believed in witchcraft. The fact that a system has existed from a time so ancient that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, raises no conclusive presumption in its favor. And the thinking world cares daily less and less what great men believe, aside from the reasons on which their opinions rest. A belief, when traversed, must defend itself by argument, and cannot shirk the *onus probandi*. And a system, if it is apparently in conflict with the broad principles of justice established and sanctioned by the experience of the race, must ever hold itself in readiness, when challenged, to prove that it is not really in conflict with those principles. And it cannot shirk the burden of proof.

The general admission of these principles wou'd change the whole face of the discussion. The duty of the average voter would become plain. For the average voter knows the duty of a juror: it is to find a verdict for the defendant unless the plaintiff makes a case; it is to acquit the accused unless his guilt is proved beyond a reasonable doubt. And that any large number of voters, having examined this great question according to that due "process of law" "without which," says the Constitution, "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property," can honestly say they are convinced that the demand of protectionism to deprive us of our liberty and property is a just and reasonable demand, such as a sworn jury would require, leaving no reasonable doubt—is something which no thinking man will believe for a moment.

Belief is an immoral thing when it is arrived at and held, after the manner of the "howling dervishes," without any adequate examination of the matter under discussion. And the examination should be measured by the gravity of the question rather than the ability of the inquirer. He who lacks the ability to examine should deny himself the luxury of belief, should impose upon himself the duty of doubting, and should give the negative the benefit of the doubt. He who puts his belief in act to the detriment of his fellow-man, as by voting for a policy that deprives them of liberty and property "without due process of law," should feel bound to defend and justify his belief by arguments that appeal to the reason of instructed men. Where is the protectionist that imposes upon himself any such responsibility for his belief?

H.

JANUARY 4, 1889.

THE CURE FOR NATIONAL CORRUPTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In my mind, the present decadence of church power, the corruption of the civil service, the misuse of the ballot, and other evils not lately discussed by name in your pages are closely linked together as capable of only one cure, and that common to them all, namely, the redemption of the public morality. Missions to city outcasts, as discussed at Chickering Hall, are very noble and godly works; but to begin with or to rely upon them is like trying to correct the bad sewerage of a city by a thorough cleansing of the harbor and nothing more. What this nation needs is, that its farmers, craftsmen, business and professional men shall be first purified; and then, largely as a necessary consequence, the lower classes. I see that things look very badly indeed, both in church and state; that the preponderance of numbers, activity, and noise is greatly in favor of a national progress through increasing immorality to a cataclysm. Especially I dread the paralyzing (I had almost said putrefactive) influence of the present deification of luxury and display, which, among a hundred other evils wrought by it, has turned your city worship into what you have well called a kind of club-matinée, and which is sapping the virtue of the nation in its remotest districts, as far as a newspaper is read or talked about.

But history shows us that a cure has been wrought for other nations as much or worse diseased than ours. Pestilence has done it, and so have war and famine; preaching has also effected it: but in every case the remedial agent has been, in one form or another, the hand of God. Thoughtful men have no patience with dogma; pure "doctrine," so called, has become a weariness to them; the revelations of God's hand in the universe do little more than interest them; church history is a very dry matter of discourse; polemics may fill churches, but they cannot redeem a nation. Yet these comprise nearly all the subjects of present-day preaching; and in them that whole side of Biblical teaching which we so urgently need is not found.

Why? Because it can neither be understood nor taught unless it is lived; and in such a moral atmosphere as now pervades our country, such living is very difficult and very rare. But if our preachers were radically convinced, as some few of them are, that religion is a life, an active condition, the most real and best part of existence, an absolute but at the same time delightful necessity being laid upon each one of us to be God's man, and none other's; and if they also held and taught that "doc-

trine" and emotion are not this life, nor even necessary to it—then their preaching would be so full of illuminating and pregnant thought upon the common ways and wants of all, and their services would be so hearty and harmonious, that going to church would be the one pleasure of the week which must not be foregone. To those who entered upon this life, many things would be possible which are now unapproachable or even undreamed of; and many things would be impossible and horrible which are now certainly not greatly condemned in the so-called religious world—among others, such gross vices as peculation, bribery, and malfeasance in office. Moreover, such men's influence cannot fail to permeate those among whom they go. They cannot be moved or restrained by fear or expediency. In store, factory, and farmyard they would be certain to speak and act for the right. They do it now; but how many of them are there?

There is an old English proverb, "You can't make men do right by act of Parliament." And, for my part, I have not much faith in the purification of elections by any legislative reform in the process of balloting. It might work or it might not, as we see by the examples of England and Canada. But a reform of the consciences of intelligent voters, just so far as it extends, cannot fail of a strong effect. I have no knowledge of Canadian preaching, but it ought to be remarked, apropos of the present purity of elections in England, that English preaching concerns itself much more than ours with the daily conduct of the religious life.

To a very great degree this matter lies in the hands of native-born Americans. There can be no patriotic devotion in the half-assimilated mass of foreign immigrants, most of them grossly ignorant, and unbalanced alike in heart and head by reaction from the bonds and poverty of their European lives; but among our native population there are men and brains enough, if there is enough passionate love of the country and the right, to battle with the tide of corruption and to cleanse the stream of politics from its source.

Yours very respectfully, R. K. C.

WHY MICHIGAN WENT REPUBLICAN.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A correspondent, who signs himself "Michigan," gives your readers to understand that the want of a campaign fund of \$100,000 and a good worker at every polling-place were the only things that lost Michigan to the Democrats last November. Organization and money, he thinks, carried the State for the Republicans. The country voter, he says, was corrupted by campaign funds contributed by millionaires. Indeed, one would suppose, to read "Michigan's" statements, that the Democrats were simply unfortunate in having a short supply of millionaires, and that no such thing as an issue or a principle appeared in the contest. A brief review of some of the well known facts of the campaign will serve to show that there were causes at work which must have influenced the vote of the State against the Democrats and in favor of the Republicans.

In the first place, the civil-service-reform policy of President Cleveland found a poor exemplar in Mr. Dickinson, who used the patronage to put down the Congressmen and to create a new Machine. Mr. Dickinson never pretended a liking for civil-service reform; and, by using his power for his friends, he made factions in his own party and thus contributed to Democratic weakness.

Again, Mr. Burt, the Democratic candidate for Governor, on the day before he was nominated, openly repudiated the tariff-reform policy of President Cleveland as represented by the Mills bill. Then, on the day of his nomination, Mr. Burt gave a mild endorsement to the President's position. Genuine tariff-reform Democrats, like ex-Congressman Yapple, were so disgusted with Mr. Burt that they took no part in the campaign, while many old-line Democrats refused to vote for a man whose personal antipathies alone had led him to leave the Republican party. Both Mr. Burt and his companion on the ticket, Mr. Moran, are millionaires, and they spent their money freely during the campaign.

On the other hand, Gov. Luce, Mr. Burt's opponent, had strengthened himself with the people during his first term by standing out for an economical administration of State affairs. Moreover, he was known to be in favor of the most advanced temperance legislation; and though on this account he was badly cut in the cities, he made votes in the temperance counties. Indeed, the temperance legislation enacted by the Republicans during the legislative session of 1887, and the need of completing the work then begun, were the prime causes of Republican success in 1888. The country voter was not a "floater," as "Michigan" charges: he was a temperance man.

Then, too, last year saw the collapse of the old Greenback movement, and the return to the Republican fold of such stray sheep as Regent Moses W. Field and John Heffron—men who had become disgusted with President Cleveland's hard-money policy.

Moreover, the Mills bill seemed to be aimed at every Michigan industry—salt, lumber, copper, iron, and wool. Many Democratic farmers voted with the Republicans, and in the upper peninsula the fact that almost all the mines were running without labor troubles made it easy sailing for the Republican protectionists in that quarter. This result might have been due to the ignorance of political economy; but it certainly was not brought about by lack of funds, because Mr. Burt had been working that section for more than a year.

I agree with "Michigan" that the Michigan Club and its branches were a great help to the Republican party. The annual supper of that club last year was attended by Harrison, McKinley, Hawley, and Cannon, each of whom was eagerly listened to by Republicans from all over Michigan. But the club has never been a machine nor a distributor of a corruption fund: the branches have been debating societies, and the headquarters at Detroit have been used as assembly rooms for visiting statesmen.

Without stopping to discuss the past of Michigan politics, as exemplified by Gen. Alger or Senator Stockbridge, and without waiting to peer into the future to estimate Mr. Blodgett's chances for the nomination for Governor, a word should be said about Senator Palmer's successor, James McMillan. It must be supposed that the man who was the unanimous choice of the overwhelming majority of Republicans in both branches of the Legislature must have some qualities beside his money to commend him. Mr. McMillan is not a lumberman, as "Michigan" claims. He is a manufacturer, an owner of steamboats, a president of railroads. In all these fields of industry he has been successful in the face of the severest competition. He has helped others to fortune, and he has quietly and persistently worked out plans of far-reaching benevolence. Throughout the State he is regarded as a man of great

financial ability, of cultivation, and of genuine public spirit. In politics he took the leadership of his party when no one else would take it in 1886, and by his sagacity and his systematic work a victory was won when defeat seemed certain. In that campaign the temperance issue was made prominent, and a representative farmer headed the ticket.

When Senator Palmer became tired of senatorial life, Mr. McMillan was the unanimous choice of the Republicans of the State, because he had proved a good political leader, and because it was believed that his business experience would make him the best representative the State could have when questions of the tariff, of transportation, and of the surplus should come up. On one occasion before the election, I asked Mr. McMillan if he proposed to interfere in the election of members of the Legislature, and he said: "I do not consider it necessary for me to go to the Senate; and if I cannot be elected honorably, I do not care to be elected at all." As it happened, there was not even a temptation for him to interfere, for his election was certain.

Lastly, there is a concrete case to show how far "Michigan" was from the truth in his assertions about bribery. The Democratic candidate for Congress in the Fifth District is known to have spent a large sum of money—probably \$20,000—and to have had an excellent organization; moreover, he had rural communities to deal with. Hence, according to "Michigan's" theories, he should have been elected. As a matter of fact, he was defeated by Mr. Brewer, who spent little money, but who is very popular.

The fact is, that Michigan is Republican for exactly the same reason that the New England States are Republican: the sons follow in the footsteps of their fathers. C. M.

DETROIT, January 7.

THE COUNTING OF THE ELECTORAL VOTE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The adequate review of Prof. Bryce's "American Commonwealth" in the last two numbers of the *Nation* will be of service to many who cannot at once give to the book the earnest study which the reviewer recommends. Meantime I have cut the leaves of my copy, and have "read with the fingers" a few pages. On page 44 of vol. i, this sentence caught my eye: "The Constitution seems, though its language is not explicit, to have intended to leave the counting of the votes to the President of the Senate (the Vice-President of the United States); and in early days this officer superintended the count and decided questions as to the admissibility of doubtful votes."

I write inquiringly. Is this opinion of Prof. Bryce the final opinion in the United States in a question which twelve years ago brought us to the edge of the pit? When Mr. Garfield opposed the passage of the Electoral Commission Bill his attitude was very dramatic as he spoke the words: "I pillow my head on the words of Chancellor Kent: 'I presume, in the absence of all legislative provision on the subject, that the President of the Senate counts the votes and determines the result.'" But, as was then pointed out, this is no final judgment of Kent. It only "presumes," and it acknowledges ultimate Congressional authority. The enactment of the Electoral Commission Bill by Congress, and its signing by the Executive, did not sanction, but virtually denied, the view expressed in this tentative way by Kent and adopted as conclusive by Garfield.

Mr. Bryce might hold that the Constitution

does not clearly point out who is to count good votes and reject bad ones; but it is difficult to understand how any one who has carefully studied the debates of the Convention of 1787 can hold for a moment that the members of that Convention (and therefore the Constitution) "intended" to leave the possible choice of the President to a single individual who, as President of the Senate and a candidate, might make himself President. The Constitution not merely "seems to have intended," but does say, that in case there is no majority of the electors for any one candidate, the election shall be given to the States as nationally represented in the House. Can it "intend" to leave an even more obscure expression of the people's will to one man? This construction of the Constitution, to which Prof. Bryce lends the very great weight of his opinion, some Americans have thought was put aside by the people of the United States when they accepted the Electoral Commission Act, influenced thereto largely by the masterly reasoning of Senators Conkling and Edmunds. If Prof. Bryce's opinion prevails to any extent this side of the Atlantic, is there safety outside of a sixteenth amendment to the Constitution? May I ask your opinion?

Respectfully yours, AUSTIN SCOTT.
RUTGERS COLLEGE, January 10, 1889.

[Mr. Bryce is evidently touching the point very lightly, and would hardly wish, we should surmise, that "very great weight" should be attached to this intimation. Apart from a mere question of counting, or of what the Constitution "intends" upon a topic not mentioned, we suppose it to be fairly well settled that the power of passing upon doubts raised as to the electoral votes is, in some form or other, in the two Houses of Congress, rather than in the Vice-President. That there have been doubts upon the subject from the beginning, and that the matter is quieted for the present by the Electoral Count Bill of 1887 in the sense above indicated, are facts probably well known to our correspondent. An amendment was proposed in the Senate as early as 1798, but not adopted, which gave to the Senate the settling of questions relating to the President, and to the House, of questions relating to the Vice-President. Does our correspondent know of Mr. O'Neil's valuable little book upon 'The American Electoral System'?—ED. NATION.]

THE UNION SAVED—AND DEVoured.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The last number of the *Nation* contains, under the head of "The Next Pension Raid," thoughts that should arrest the attention of every intelligent citizen. It is more than a national calamity that our glorious volunteer army of the civil war should so far descend from its high estate as to demand largess for its past services, and thereby dim the record of that heroic period. The inclosed newspaper slip points out the tendency of these pension raids in sufficiently forcible terms, and is the more effective as being taken from a journal well known to be a leading Republican organ (St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*):

"Lord Wolseley not only tells the English that they have no adequate home guard and safeguard against invasion, but he jeers quietly at the United States for its enormous expenditures on military matters. To be sure, we have an army of only about 25,000 men, but our pension list is extraordinary and enormous. So

far, this has multiplied on the plea of gratitude for a Union saved. It is, however, not desirable to have the Union devoured after it has been saved. The facts, not to be blinked, are that a good deal of pension money goes regularly to persons who have no decent reasons for taxing their neighbors for their support. The pension system needs to be economically handled to avoid breeding in the people a pauper sentiment. It is doing a great deal too much in the way of creating national mendicancy. It is time to go slow."

It is certain that a feeling has been aroused and fostered, that every soldier should receive a monthly largess, irrespective of condition, or length of service, or present state of health. This is simple corruption.

Very respectfully, CHARLES A. TODD.
ST. LOUIS, January 7, 1889.

THE KINSHIP OF MEN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I cannot tell from your review of Kendall's 'Kinship of Men' whether the author claims originality for the discovery that every man has two ancestors in the first degree, four in the second, eight in the third, and so on to 1,048,576 in the twentieth, etc., etc.; but certain it is that Blackstone was ahead of him. In the chapter on Descent (II. Com., ch. 14) you will find the same calculation; but the wise old father of the law, after showing to what enormous figures a man's collateral relations would rise if this calculation were free from fallacy, adds: "And if this calculation should appear incompatible with the number of inhabitants on the earth, it is because by intermarriage among the several descendants of the same ancestor, a hundred or a thousand modes of consanguinity may be consolidated in one person, or he may be related to us in a hundred or a thousand different ways."

Mr. Kendall's idea that the knowledge of men that they are related to each other will have a restraining effect on their intercourse, has received a curious confirmation in the experience of a distinguished social philosopher at the tomb of Adam. "How touching . . . thus to discover the grave of a blood relation. True, a distant one, but still a relation. The unerring instinct of nature thrilled its recognition. The fountain of my filial affection was stirred to its profoundest depths, and I gave way to tumultuous emotion" ('Innocents Abroad,' ch. 53.) With so striking an illustration of the force with which the recognition of kinship will appeal to one, who can say but that Mr. Kendall's predicted millennium only awaits the general acceptance of the truths he urges?

R. H. N.
PHILADELPHIA, January 6.

PARISH WORK OF SYRIAN MISSIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a recent number of the *Nation*, one of your correspondents, in writing of missionaries, says, "In the larger towns in Turkey, as for instance, Beirút, the missionaries live in good and often handsome houses. . . . They are far better off than country clergymen at home, because they preach but few sermons, and have absolutely no parish work."

Last year I passed five months in one of the larger Syrian villages not far from Beirút, and had opportunity to meet the mission circle, and to become in a measure familiar with their work. The impression they gave me was that of a very busy and earnest set of men and women. Dr. Jessup, pastor of the Beirút church, preaches every Sunday; and though the sermons may not require the same kind of preparation as sermons for a western audience,

they demand one peculiar to the people, and one that a western preacher would find it difficult to give. When the Doctor's family flee to the mountains to escape the scorching sirocco of the plain, he remains behind to minister to his people; or if he goes up to his family, he returns to his charge the last of the week by a long ride beneath a Syrian sun from which most of us would shrink. The making and receiving of calls is a great factor in the work, and, with its tedious Oriental ceremonies, is a grand consumer of time.

The ladies do their share of this duty, besides holding women's meetings, teaching in Sunday-school, and going from house to house to read the Bible. The daughter of the missionary in whose home I sojourned made and received last year about eight hundred calls. Most of her visits were made sitting on the floor in true Arab fashion. She has a Sunday-school class of twenty-four, and from this, in the last seven years, thirteen have joined the mission church. The missionary himself was daily besieged in his own house by Arabs of both sexes and all grades who flocked to him for help and advice, making it often difficult for him to get time for his meals. Then there was the burial of the dead, and visits to the aged, sick, and lukewarm. In short, instead of there being "absolutely no parish work," there seemed to be a ceaseless and patience-wearing round.

It is true that some of the Beirút missionaries have pleasant and even handsome houses, but the inmates have private incomes, and what extra comforts they have are not supplied from the pennies "saved up by children for the purpose of enlightening the darkness of the poor heathen." From one of these homes the missionary's wife, with a sister who was visiting her, gave last summer five hundred dollars to the mission to supply deficiencies made by retrenchments of the Presbyterian Board, while another missionary and his wife went to America for three months at their own expense, allowing their salary to be used meanwhile for mission purposes. They are people who, by culture and means, are fitted to shine in the highest circles of America, but they have chosen to devote means and talent to the good of those less favored than themselves. If a man consecrates himself and his money to the cause of missions, he has done one thing more than the "poor missionary."

It may not be generally known that the college at Beirút, though an outgrowth of mission effort, is no longer a mission institution. It has been well endowed by friends in England and America. It has its Faculty, each with adequate salary, so that they are no more dependent on any missionary board than are the Faculty of Harvard. The really beautiful house in which President Bliss resides was built for the college by the late Mr. Marquand of New York.

MARY GORDON.

Notes.

'THE CENTURY DICTIONARY,' which has been for seven years in preparation by the Century Co. of this city, is about to be issued by subscription in parts or sections. The total number of pages of this elaborate work is estimated at 6,500, and the complement of quarto volumes will be six. The scheme is encyclopedic, and has been executed with the aid of a large number of technical experts. Its very full vocabulary will abound in illustrative quotations, and some six thousand cuts of a high order will help out the definitions. This

important enterprise will be launched simultaneously in England and in the United States, and it remains to be seen whether the remarkable excess of sales of the just finished 'Encyclopaedia Britannica' in this country, as compared with the seat of its origin, will be reversed in the case of 'The Century Dictionary.'

We have been favored, by the way, with the pretty pamphlet "Proceedings at the Encyclopaedia Britannica Banquet," held at Cambridge, England, December 11, 1888, to celebrate the conclusion of the great undertaking. We observe that Mr. Adam W. Black remarked, on behalf of the publishers, that the authors' "corrigenda amounted to what was equivalent to setting up the twenty-four quarto volumes from beginning to end twice over"—a formidable showing, indeed, and almost incredible.

Mr. G. Birkbeck Hill has engaged to collect and edit for the Delegates of the Clarendon Press Dr. Johnson's Letters, and ultimately, as he hopes, Boswell's. He desires to have the loan, or very punctilious copies, of any letters by either of these personages in private hands, promising to return the originals without delay. Should such letters chance to have been published, a collation with the manuscript will be a favor, as "Johnson's handwriting is not always clear, and not a few errors have been committed by copyists." Mr. Hill's address is 3 The Crescent, Oxford, England.

The spring announcements of G. P. Putnam's Sons, in addition to 'The Writings of Washington,' to be edited by Mr. Worthington C. Ford in fourteen volumes, include 'English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages (fourteenth century),' translated from the French of J. J. Jusserand by Lucy Toulmin Smith, with new and elaborate illustrations; 'A Manual of Oriental Antiquities,' by Ernest Babelon; 'From Japan to Granada,' by James Henry Chapin, D.D.; 'Business: A Practical Treatise,' by James Platt, reprinted from the seventy-fifth English edition; 'Politics as a Duty and as a Career,' by Moorfield Storey; 'The Plantation Negro [of Virginia] as a Free-man,' by Philip A. Bruce; 'The Pocket Gazetteer of the World,' by J. G. Bartholomew; 'The Nursery Lesson-Book,' by Philip G. Hubert, Jr.; and 'Principles of Procedure in Deliberative Bodies,' by George Glover Crocker.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. are to publish a volume of the late Asa Gray's reviews of botanical literature during the past fifty years, selected and edited by Prof. C. S. Sargent.

Belford, Clarke & Co. issue shortly 'Janus,' a novel by Edward Irenaeus Stevenson.

A preface by Mr. John Morley is enough to give distinction to any edition of a classic author, and this is what first recommends the complete one-volume edition of Wordsworth's Poetical Works (uniform with the one-volume Tennyson) just issued by Macmillan & Co. It is a masterly combination of biography and critical appreciation, and not at all the perfunctory thing that such performances are apt to be. It will satisfy all but fanatical admirers of Wordsworth, if any such remain, coming very close to Matthew Arnold's ranking of him after Shakspere and Milton—for the best of his work, of course, not the sum. This collection also includes the newly published longish autobiographical poem, "The Recluse," of which we must speak later. In all ways the volume is a desirable possession, printed necessarily in small type and in double columns, and following the poet's later (alas! not always better) readings, and preserving the notes, prefaces, and appendixes of the several editions. The cost is very reasonable.

From the same publishers we have the ninth

volume in Browning's freshest edition of his Poems—the second volume of 'The Ring and the Book.'

It was during the height of the Franco-German War that Prof. W. W. Goodwin brought out his amended edition of the elder translations of Plutarch's 'Morals' (Miscellanies and Essays), to which we gave proper attention at the time. Emerson, who furnished an introduction, predicted a perpetual rediscovery and renascent popularity of the Greek author; and in fact a generation has nearly elapsed, and France is again in a crisis, when the publishers (Little, Brown & Co., Boston) undertake a reissue of the five noble volumes which we owe to Prof. Goodwin's care. The style has been somewhat cheapened, both as regards paper and binding, and the public makes a corresponding gain in price of one-third, with no essential loss. It is in this way that one with slender means, aiming to form his library of the best editions, succeeds if he will but bide his time.

Since we are speaking of new editions, we may mention the revival of Capt. Marryat in "Bohn's Illustrated Library" (London: Geo. Bell & Sons; New York: Scribner & Welford). 'Peter Simple' and 'Midshipman Easy' make a beginning. The illustrations are not very numerous, and do not count for much, but the form is acceptable, since there is no library without its Bohn. The compression into one volume makes 'Peter Simple' less readable than the companion volume.

Esp's Fables, with John Tenniel's designs, furnish the newest (twentieth) volume of the taking "Nuggets Series" (G. P. Putnam's Sons).

A diminutive curio is J. Taylor's "Thumb Bible," "an epitome of the Old and New Testaments in English Verse," and an amusingly audacious attempt. Here is part of the Apocrypha:

"In many places they do seem to vary,
And bear a sense from Scripture quite contrary."
The present, published by A. D. F. Randolph & Co., follows the third edition of the 'Verbum Sempiternum' (October 6, 1693). It is forty years since the Chiswick Press gave it a new lease of life.

Cornelius Walford's 'Gilds: Their Origin, Constitution, Objects, and Later History' (London, 1888), is the reprint of a series of articles that appeared in the 'Antiquarian Magazine' (1881-1886). They constitute a new and enlarged edition of an article on gilds published in the 'Insurance Cyclopedia,' vol. v., and reprinted in 1880. The author follows Brentano's essay on gilds with more zeal than discretion, seldom advancing an original opinion of his own. The work will be found useful as a repertory of the views of various writers on gilds, as a condensation of the ordinances printed in Smith's 'English Gilds,' and as a compilation of many facts relating to the subject gleaned from local histories. It is the most comprehensive and least original treatise on English gilds that we have met with. Throughout it bears the imprint of encyclopedic crudeness.

When, some eighteen months ago, we reviewed Prof. Comba's 'Histoire des Vandois d'Italie,' we expressed the hope that a translation would soon render it accessible to the English-speaking public. That hope has been realized in the issue of a version by Teofilo E. Comba (London: Truelove & Shirley; New York: F. W. Christern). The style is naturally a little stiff, the proof-reading leaves much to be desired, and the transfer of the notes and references from the foot of the pages to a mass at the end of the volume is somewhat awkward; but the merits of the original are unimpaired, and it

may safely be pronounced the most comprehensive and accurate work on the subject to which the student of religious development can refer. Although the title would seem to limit it to the Waldenses of Italy, it is in reality a history of the movement throughout Europe down to the time of the Reformation. We trust that the learned author will soon complete it with the exceedingly interesting story of the vicissitudes experienced by the persecuted sect to the present day—a story which he is probably able to treat with fuller knowledge than any other living scholar.

'Habits and Manners' is the title of a book "written originally for the students of the Hampton N. and A. Institute," by Mrs. M. F. Armstrong, and now revised by her for more general use, and printed by the Normal School Press, Hampton, Va. It gives honest and sensible advice in regard to refined deportment, suitable dress, personal and household hygiene, building and owning a modest home, etc. Even some cooking recipes are added. An excellent book for the class for whom it is intended, it is not without suggestions which might often be profitable in a higher.

It is quite as true physiologically as morally that in times past children's teeth were set on edge by the unripe fruit their parents ate. Attempted "hardening," imprudent diet, neglect of what now are called simple sanitary precautions, certainly made life hard and disease easy. But if not the tree of life, at least that of the knowledge of good and evil is now in perennial blossom. Among its latest fruit is Dr. Louis Starr's 'Hygiene of the Nursery' (Philadelphia: P. Blakiston Son & Co.), which may be recommended as excellent fare for the intelligent mother; but it is only the mere ordinary intelligent mother who will grasp all its directions, and it is clearly the richer class that the author has in mind. It is the climate of Philadelphia that he has before him, with Atlantic City and Cape May within reach. He is writing for his own comfortable people; but, fortunately, rich people's children and poor people's children are run in similar moulds. It is a very good book, although all children may not be able to sleep, as recommended, on "springs and a soft horse-hair mattress, protected by a gum-cloth placed under a double sheet" (p. 55), nor all mothers be really the wiser for being told that in teething "there is, in other words, a condition of mild catarrhal stomatitis" (p. 46). A very curious error of the types, making eight cubic feet (eight hundred being meant) the room space per child, repeats itself in successive sentences (p. 51), while the expression "adult boots" (p. 78) is grotesque, although intelligible. We would not have given so much space to a poor book, and this is a good one for fathers, for nurses, and for mothers to study, in order that children ultimately may profit by it.

In answer to inquiries, we are desired to say that the Secretary of the Dunlap Society is Mr. Brander Matthews (No. 121 East Eighteenth Street, New York), who will be glad to receive subscriptions.

The late Édouard Fournier had great erudition and a great love of books, but he was prone to discover mares' nests and to ride a hobby. A sketch of the history of bookbinding in France, which he wrote nearly twenty-five years ago, is not free from these defects, but it is pleasantly written, and it contains a multitude of references to original authorities and to other authors which are distinctly valuable. A new edition of M. Fournier's book, 'L'Art de la Reliure en France aux derniers siècles,' has just been issued in Paris by Dentu (New York: F. W. Christern), in which we find no

hint of the book's earlier publication by Gay in 1864.

Pending the publication of its sumptuous edition of the 'Philobiblion,' the Grolier Club has issued in a stately volume Mr. DeVinne's admirable account of 'Christopher Plantin and the Plantin-Moretus Museum at Antwerp,' originally published in the *Century*, and now reprinted at the press of the author, with a few amplifications, and with all the illustrations, chief among these being the vigorous pen-and-ink sketches by Mr. Pennell. Mr. DeVinne's most interesting description of the rise of the Plantin printing-office, and of its preservation to the present day, three centuries after it began its noble work, is printed in handsome open type on a broad and dignified page. We may doubt if Plantin at his best ever sent forth a book of better press-work. The illustrations are on separate, unbacked pages, and are printed in changing monotypes, with a bizarre effect not unpleasing. The only fault we can find with Mr. DeVinne is with the author and not the printer. Why does he use the French form, *Mayence*, when there is a good old English name for the town of *Mentz*?

The Arts Club of Manchester, England, has recently held an exhibition of engravings of theatrical scenes and portraits, and of this a catalogue has just been issued, from which we learn that these prints were "lent and arranged by Harry Thornber," and Mr. Thornber is also responsible for the catalogue. This is a well-made and well-printed list, having brief but sufficient biographical notes; it is abundantly illustrated with woodcuts and process-blocks, most of which have seen service before in the *English Illustrated Magazine*. The one possible improvement would be an indication as to the present situation and ownership of the original pictures, in so far as it might be possible to trace them now. There are many good theatrical pictures in the National Gallery, and the collection of the Garrick Club is famous. The gallery of "The Players," the latest of New York clubs, is small but promising; it contains, for example, portraits of Garrick by Zoffany and by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and an excellent full-length of Palmer, the original *Joseph Surface*, by Gainsborough.

Westermann & Co. send us the closing instalment of vol. xi. of 'Meyer's Konversations-Lexikon,' and fourteen parts of vol. xii., bringing the whole work down to Peruzzi. Music, Napoleon, the Netherlands, New York, Austria, Persia, Peru, and North Polar Expeditions are the weightiest articles of these numbers, which are increasingly rich in plates, colored and other, maps, etc. American biographies occur somewhat sparsely. The sketch of Com. M. C. Perry misses his latest biography. Full justice, on the other hand, is done to Mr. Muybridge's revelations concerning animal locomotion (art. *Ortsbewegungen der Tiere*). It seems at this day somewhat disproportionate to give a page and a half to "Ossian." The editor's chat with correspondents is instructive and even amusing. He satisfies, or at least answers, one inquirer as to the post-Adamite superstition that man has one more rib than woman, albeit the gorilla has thirteen. He proves to another that the Mississippi-Missouri river is considerably longer than the Amazon. He names for the benefit of a third the deepest boring in the world, viz., that at Schladebach near the station Kötschau on the Leipzig-Weissenfels Railroad, which measures 1748 metres, or more than a mile, and has been six years in the boring.

From the same publishers we have the second volume of Renan's 'Histoire du Peuple d'Israël.'

The compact 'Allgemeine Weltgeschichte'

issued in Berlin by G. Grote (New York: Westermann) approaches the end in Parts 89-102, which deal with the period from the downfall of the First to the eve of the Second Empire. Germany and France, of course, hold the leading place in this survey; but Poland, Italy, Greece, Spain—all the countries stirred by the French Revolution of 1848—and England are duly brought into view. The array of portraits is noticeably great, and includes impartially the men of thought and the men of action. We remark among the more curious the early portraits of Thiers and Bismarck, that of Charles Albert, of Guizot, etc. But George Sand, Byron, Capodistrias, O'Connell, Mazzini, Espartero, Kutuzoff, Diebitsch, the Humboldts, the Grimms, Heine, Ranke, Jahn, Hegel, Peel, Chateaubriand, Royer-Collard, Béranger, Bernadotte, Radetsky, Palmerston, Macaulay, Metternich, Blücher, Arndt, Mehmet Ali, Pio Nono, Strauss, Niebuhr—these and many others are likewise portrayed in more or less familiar aspects. There are, besides, excellent facsimiles of manuscripts, and some of newspapers. That of the *Vossische Zeitung* of March 20, 1848, rejoicing that "the press is free," should give rise to reflections in view of the treatment of Dr. Geffcken, forty years later.

Poet-Lore is the title selected for a monthly magazine "devoted to Shakspere, Browning, and the comparative study of literature," which it is proposed to issue from No. 223 S. 38th St., Philadelphia, with the imprint of J. B. Lippincott Co., on assurance of sufficient support. It appears to be an offshoot of *Shakespeariana*, or even its heir.

Some recent portraits of American literary celebrities by Miss Dora Wheeler are to be reproduced as frontispieces to the *Literary News* during the current year.

Both the Yale and Harvard catalogues for 1888-89 are at hand (New Haven; and Cambridge: Chas. W. Sever), each provided with a map of the college grounds, and otherwise filled with necessary information for whom it may concern.

Mr. F. Gutekunst, 712 Arch Street, Philadelphia, has just published a view of the Egyptian Hall in the Masonic Temple of that city, interesting both from the architectural standpoint and as an excellent specimen of the artist's phototype process.

Styles & Cash give a centennial complexion to their calendar for 1889 by a background design illustrating the homes and haunts of Washington. This calendar uses the dial form, with a movable pointer.

The (Syracuse) *Academy* offers a prize of fifty dollars for the best essay on English in Secondary Schools, not to exceed 5,000 words in length, and to reach the office of the *Academy* on or before April 15, 1889, signed with a fictitious name (the author's real name being enclosed in a sealed envelope). The prize essay will become the property of the *Academy*, as will also any papers of special merit that may receive honorable mention. All others will be returned if postage accompanies them.

—A considerable impetus is likely to be given to the excellent work of the Selden Society by a paper, emphatically commanding it to the attention of the legal profession, which is signed by very distinguished and competent persons, such as the Chief Justice of the United States, Mr. Justice Gray, Mr. Justice Holmes, Professor Dwight, Professor Langdell, Messrs. R. C. McMurtrie, George W. Biddle, W. H. Rawle, J. H. Choate, and others.

"The undersigned," it reads, "have assured themselves of the great importance of the work of the Selden Society, an organization formed with a view, as one of its main purposes, to put

into print certain legal records and manuscripts hitherto unpublished. . . . Such an organization cannot accomplish much unless its membership be larger. It has seemed to us that our brethren of the legal profession might be widely induced to join the Selden Society if their attention were directly called to the matter; for we are persuaded that in every way our laws will gain much from the careful historical and scientific investigations which are now going forward in many quarters, and which this Society will materially assist and promote."

It may be well to add, for the information of intending subscribers, that the subscription is a guinea a year (\$5.18), and that this sum may be sent to any of the local secretaries (Mr. A. Tison, 40 Wall St., is the local secretary for New York), or to the general secretary, Prof. J. B. Thayer, at Cambridge, Mass.

—Nos. 1 and 2 of vol. xi. of the *American Journal of Mathematics* are on our table. No. 1 is adorned with a fine head of M. Charles Hermite, the distinguished French mathematician, doubtless from a picture taken many years ago, as M. Hermite has just entered on his sixty-seventh year, and this is evidently the head of a much younger man. The two numbers contain ten papers, the contents of which are of that recondite character of which it is impossible, at least in a note, to convey any intelligible idea to the general reader. Two of the papers are reprints, one in French (*Mémoire présenté à l'Académie des Sciences de Lisbonne*) the other in German (from the *Berichte der K. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*). The other eight appear to have been written especially for the *Journal*. Of the ten papers, six are in English, three in French, and one in German. Only one paper is by an American author, Prof. W. W. Johnson of St. John's College, Md.; five are by Englishmen, three by Frenchmen, one by a German. Three papers by Prof. Cayley of Cambridge, Eng., give abundant evidence that, although in his sixtieth year, mentally "his eye is not dimmed nor his natural strength abated." A paper by another Englishman, Mr. A. E. H. Love, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, suggests a question to the students of heredity. 'Love's Surveying' was a work quite extensively used by land surveyors in this country in colonial times—say, about the middle of the last century. Love is not a very common family name. May there not be some kinship by blood between the present and the earlier mathematician? The contents of these two numbers of the *Journal* confirm the opinion that, whether we look to the ability of the contributors or the importance of the contributions, the *American Journal of Mathematics* is second to no mathematical journal in the world. We sincerely hope that its subscription-list will be so large that it will not be affected by any financial embarrassments of the institution under whose auspices it is published.

—Mr. W. H. Goodyear's 'History of Art' (A. S. Barnes & Co.) is a much less ambitious book than its title would lead one to suppose. It is a manual for elementary classes in the history of art, its chief aim being to point out, in as concise a form as possible, the distinguishing characteristics of the leading styles and schools of architecture, sculpture, and painting through those countries, ancient and modern, which have influenced our own civilization, keeping constantly in mind our connection with, and dependence upon, the past in these matters, with a view to training the taste of beginners, and developing their powers of observation and criticism. The excellence of this purpose is self-apparent, and Mr. Goodyear has executed it skilfully, and with a knowledge of the subject which shows

wide and careful reading in the large field covered. In the very restricted size of the book, as compared with that of its subject, it has been impossible to give more than a record of facts, and the statement of these has necessarily been compressed to the utmost possible extent. Mr. Goodyear has shown his skill especially in the manner in which he has made his condensed sentences express his exact meaning and no more; so much so, in fact, that we fear that their full import will be lost upon all but rather advanced readers. For this reason, we believe his book will be more useful to those who teach than to those who are taught, as very likely he intended it should. The need of expansion is felt on every page; and, in the hands of an intelligent teacher, there is enough suggestion in one of these paragraphs to furnish material for an hour's talk, though on an unaided beginner it would probably make little impression. Regarding the book, therefore, as a teacher's manual, we regret only that, at an inconsiderable increase in size, the author did not double its usefulness by citing the authorities for his more important statements, so that those who wished more information on any subject than he gives might readily learn where to find it.

—The book is plentifully illustrated, its 315 pages containing no less than 216 illustrations, many of which are full-page. Between the merit of these and that of the subject-matter, there is a very decided difference. In view of the publishers' promise to "spare no pains in subsequent editions to make all possible improvement," we refrain from saying too much about them, yet certainly the result of this first edition is melancholy. Had the theme of the book been any other than art, they would have been bad enough; but its object being to cultivate the taste of young students, these grimy, meanly pictures are indeed depressing. It is true, as the publishers say, that the fidelity and veracity of photographs are now conceded to be superior to engravings in reproducing works of art; but the fidelity of poor process-work, abominably printed, in reproducing all the defects and few of the merits of a photograph, and its unhappy faculty of distorting the veracity of photographs almost beyond recognition, seem to us the points most forcibly illustrated in these plates. He would be indeed an enthusiastic beginner who could be inspired to an interest in the subject by looking at them; and we therefore wish Messrs. Barnes & Co. all possible success in their future endeavors to remedy the "shortcomings of the process," of which they seem to have encountered more than their share.

—Mr. Bigelow's edition of Franklin's Works terminates with the tenth volume (G. P. Putnam's Sons). The main portion, if we may so call it, covers but two years (1788-1790); but a generous supplement fills many gaps in the series of letters and documents, and in particular (thanks to Mr. B. F. Stevens) contains a goodly number of letters addressed to William Strahan, the London bookseller. Nothing could be more delicate than Franklin's putting this friend on his guard when introducing one Matthew Harris to him. "Only I ought to acquaint you," he says, "that he has always had a strong *penchant* to the buying of books, and that some late misfortunes have rendered it more inconvenient to him to gratify that taste than it has been heretofore." A letter of condolence to the same correspondent, on the death of his daughter, is a model of feeling expression. Twice, in writing to Strahan, Franklin uses the odd word *smouting* in the sense of

a "job" (employment), though in another letter to him, and in one to Noah Webster, also in the present volume, he shows himself a purist towards provincialisms and neologisms. He cannot abide the use of *improve* in the sense of "use"—as, when a country-house has been improved as a tavern; and similarly of the substantive *improvement*. To notice for "take notice," to *advocate* anything, to *progress*, to say that one is *opposed* to anything—were all innovations that he abominated; and in typography he would have restored not only the capitalization of substantives but the long s, besides borrowing from the Spanish the antecedent interrogative sign. If in these particulars, except the last, he seems not quite like his curious inventive and improvement making self, there are many anticipations in these pages of ideas and events of a later age. He proposes insurance against the devastation of farms by storms, blight, etc.; by his will he assures his daughter's inheritance for her sole and separate use, "whether she be covert or sole"—evidently on abstract grounds of sexual equality; he encourages the Irish patriots of 1772 to be friendly to America, "with the expectation that our growing weight might in time be thrown into their scale, and, by joining our interest with theirs, might be obtained for them as well as for us a more equitable treatment from this [English] nation." Franklin, furthermore, took a wholesome stand against the neglect of English in favor of the classics. "The still prevailing custom of having schools for teaching generally our children, in these days, the Latin and Greek languages," he regarded as "the *chapeau bras* of modern literature."

—It is highly significant, for the man and for his time, that there is more in this volume on the subject of slavery than in all the preceding nine. It was in 1787 that Franklin was made President of the reorganized Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, etc., whose mild methods and non-incendiary scheme of ameliorating the condition of the African race is inferrible from the fact that in 1789 Franklin was still denouncing the British for having run off slaves without compensation during the Revolution—the natural right of these poor creatures to freedom not being hinted at; nor did he in his will make any bequest to this Society, though he begged his son-in-law, Richard Bache, to "manumit and set free his negro man Bob." He signed, however, in 1790, the temperate and forcible address of his Society to Congress on the subject of slavery and the slave trade, and himself drew up an address to the public the year before. This latter Mr. Bigelow prints, and he also—with what propriety we cannot judge—puts the caption "To George Washington" over a mere copy of the systematic plan of proceedings adopted by the Society. He assigns it to the year 1789, when, according to Needles ("Hist. Memoir of the Pennsylvania Society," p. 37) the plan was formed in 1790. About three weeks before his death, Franklin issued anonymously one of his favorite mystifications in the shape of a satire on arguments advanced in Congress on behalf of the slave trade. There was a chance for an explanatory note by the editor on the passage in a letter to his cousin, where Franklin says, London, July 7, 1773: "Upon your recommendation I went to see the black poetess, and offered her any services I could do her. Before I left the house, I understood her master was there, and had sent her to me, but did not come into the room himself, and, I thought, was not pleased with the visit"—at least, he intimates, as having been paid direct,

and not by application through her master. This brief record of Phillis Wheatley's visit to England is a sharp reminder that ownership of the body meant also of the talents and souls of men; the African Terence being a parallel to his countrywoman—he with Rome for his adoptive city, she with Boston. We take leave of this important publication with a sense of the untimeliness of Franklin's death. What one of his fellow-founders of the Republic could we wish, to the same degree, to have begun life over again where he ended it, and to have taken part in the great constitutional struggle which ended in the new revolution of 1860-1865?

OUR CRITICAL PERIOD.

The Critical Period of American History—1783-1789. By John Fiske. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888.

Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States. Published during its Discussion by the People, 1787-1788. Edited, with Notes and a Bibliography, by Paul Leicester Ford. Brooklyn, N. Y. 1888.

Pennsylvania and the Federal Convention, 1787-1788. Edited by John Bach McMaster and Frederick D. Stone. Published for the Subscribers of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1888.

A History of the New Hampshire Convention for the Investigation, Discussion, and Decision of the Federal Constitution; and of the Old North Meeting house of Concord, in which it was ratified by the Ninth State, and thus rendered Operative, etc. By Joseph B. Walker. Boston: Cupples & Hurd. 1888.

In a narrow compass Mr. Fiske offers us the ripe fruit of careful studies. He has rightly judged that a clear and compact exposition of the events which attended the formation of the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Great Britain at the close of the Revolutionary War, and a discussion of the effects produced by the Revolution and by American Independence on the internal politics of both countries, deserved to be considered as an indispensable prologue to the historical drama which he proposes to set forth. The acts of this drama are five, being an inquiry into the inadequacy of the Articles of Confederation, the drift towards anarchy visible from 1783 to 1787, the germs of national sovereignty out of which the Constitution grew, the fruitage of those germs in the Federal Convention of 1787, and the final crowning of the Convention's work by the adoption of the Constitution as it came from the hands of its framers.

It is the author's aim to group the facts of his narrative in an orderly series, which shall be logical, not simply because it is chronological, but because the sequence of the events here recited can be seen to follow a natural order in the evolution of political ideas. It is true that the writer deals throughout his whole book with pragmatic history rather than with philosophical disquisition; yet each new configuration in the politics of that period is treated in connection with the moral and social processes which had prepared the minds of men to receive it.

If the reader misses in the present treatise the comprehensive generalizations which give such a fascination to the author's lectures on American Political Ideas, he will find his recompense in the solid facts of history pertaining to the formative period in our annals, and can here see those facts placed in a historical perspective which reveals at once their national *grandeur* and their "world-historical" significance.

cance. Mr. Fiske does not overestimate the importance of the epoch of transition when he says that "the period of five years following the Peace of 1783 was the most critical moment in the history of the American people." Instead, however, of quoting the contrary view of Thomas Paine on this point, in order to rebut it, he might have cited the more sagacious and contemporaneous opinion of Dr. Richard Rush, in order to affirm the point of view which seems to him the true one in measuring the proportions of this crisis. Writing in 1787, Dr. Rush rebuked the error of those who, like Paine, "confounded the terms of the American Revolution with those of the [then] late American War." "The American War," added Rush, "is over, but this is far from being the case with the *American Revolution*." It is the very pith and purpose of Mr. Fiske in this volume to exhibit the friction of opinions which led the way to the culminating point of the American Revolution as Rush conceived it while the political ferment was seething before his eyes. However true it may be, as John Quincy Adams has said, that "the Constitution of the United States was extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant people," it is equally true that this "grinding necessity" was the mortar and matrix in which the Constitution took a form and pressure that commanded it to the eventual acceptance of the whole country, in spite of all the relents and misgivings of a dissentient minority.

As might be expected from an expositor of the philosophy of evolution, Mr. Fiske finds in this doctrine an explanation of some of the things that were wisely done by the framers of the Constitution, and of other things that were not so wisely done because of a failure on their part to apprehend some of the historical processes which were hidden from their political insight, acute and clear as it generally was. Among the most suggestive parts of the present treatise is the forcible presentation which the writer gives of the mistake made by the authors of the Constitution when, in conceiving the place and function of the Federal executive as lodged in the President, they supposed themselves to be following the precedents of the British Constitution, without observing that the traditional theory of the British Constitution in this respect was undergoing a transformation in the practice of that day, and that the executive power of England was slowly but surely slipping away from the King to the Premier of the British Cabinet.

Perhaps a critical reader might object that Mr. Fiske has not applied this canon of criticism with sufficient thoroughness to some other parts of the Constitution. The framers of that instrument certainly failed to observe the evolutionary processes of history in their regulations concerning slavery; for if history had taught anything with clearness in their day it was that slavery had always been an element of danger, and that with each advance in the Christian civilization of the world, before the discovery of America, it had been put more and more "into circumscription and confine." Yet they planted this fungus growth in the very framework of the Constitution. Mr. Fiske states with clearness the compromises by which slavery was "extended and fostered" under the sanction of the Constitution. He says it is difficult to read this episode "without burning indignation"; "but," he adds, "this is not the proper mood for the historian, whose aim is to interpret men's actions by the circumstances of their time in order to judge their motives correctly." He finds an explanation of the concessions that were made on this topic in the alleged fact that it was "quite generally

believed [in 1787] that slavery was destined speedily to expire," and in support of this view he cites the fact that such an opinion "was distinctly set forth by many delegates in the convention." We are aware that Ellsworth and Sherman gave expression to *obiter dicta* in this sense, but it is equally true that Madison expressed the opinion that twenty years of slave importation would produce all the mischief that could be apprehended from leaving the States free to import slaves indefinitely, and that therefore the national character would be more dishonored by the express toleration given to the slave trade than if nothing were said about it. The result showed that Madison's forecast was correct. It is important to remark that when Ellsworth expressed the opinion that slavery would "in time not be a speck in the country," he was using the language of an advocate in defence of a compromise which needed, as he saw, every plausible palliation, just as the Virginian opponents of the Constitution, Mason, Henry, and others, are found inveighing against this feature of the Constitution rather by way of a *parti pris* against the Constitution than against slavery; for in the same breath with these denunciations they bemoan (for argument's sake, of course) the absence of a constitutional guarantee for the perpetuity of slave property.

We think it may be doubted whether there was any "general belief" on the subject, such as Mr. Fiske supposes. The subject had not sufficiently penetrated the popular consciousness at that time to form, with any definiteness, the basis of a "general belief" to this effect among the people. The best that could be said by Iredell and others in defence of the slave-trade toleration was that perhaps the subject might be considered with less difficulty after 1808 than in 1787. Dawes and Backus predicted in the Massachusetts Convention that slavery would "die of a consumption" after 1808, for the want of fresh supplies. The fatuity of such an optimistic opinion was sufficiently exposed in the debates of that time. Gen. Heath expressed doubts on this point in the Massachusetts Convention, and so did Joshua Atherton in the New Hampshire Convention, if we may trust the accuracy of his reported language. Madison, in the Virginia Convention, said that slave property would be better secured than before, while Edmund Randolph lamented, "in the calm light of philosophy," that there was not "a spark of hope" that slavery would be abolished "by the operation of the general Government."

Of natural causes working to that end he gave no hint. "If the importation of slaves is not to be prohibited before the year 1808, slavery will probably resume its empire in Pennsylvania," exclaimed an enemy of the Constitution in that State, controveering in 1787 the roseate views of Judge Wilson under this head. It would be easy to add to the number of such testimonies. Moreover, if there had been any such "general belief," it ought to have come to the surface in the first slavery debate ever had in Congress under the Constitution. Less than two years after the Constitution had been adopted, we find William Smith of South Carolina openly proclaiming on the floor of Congress that "the best informed part of the citizens of the Northern States knew that slavery was so ingrafted into the policy of the Southern States that it could not be eradicated without tearing up by the roots their happiness, tranquillity, and prosperity," while, speaking for the Southern States, he said that Southern men found slavery "ingrafted in the very policy of the country when they were born," and that they were persuaded of the impolicy of removing it. Dr. von Holst hardly

exaggerates the truth when he says that the *non me tangere* attitude of the South in defence of slavery was as clearly expressed in 1790 as it ever was at a later day by Calhoun and Toombs.

To argue that it was "sound policy" to adopt what Mr. Fiske calls "the odious compromise about the slave trade," because it won South Carolina and Georgia for the Union in 1788, and postponed the irrepressible conflict long enough for the consolidation of a Union sentiment which, in the end, became so strong that it could quell secession and at the same time wipe out slavery "in one stupendous effort," may be a just point of view in the homiletics of history, but it assumes the whole question in issue. Perhaps the best defence that can be made to-day for the slavery compromises is to say that they *seemed* at the time (not that they certainly *were*) the best that could be done with the hard necessities of an evil situation. And perhaps the best defence that can be made for our fathers, in agreeing to those compromises when they did, is to say that they did not know what they were doing. From the moment of those compromises, says Mr. Fiske, "the American people had entered into the shadow of the coming civil war before they had fairly emerged from that of the Revolution"; and when he adds that we "ought to be for ever grateful for the sudden and final clearing of the air wrought by that frightful storm," he at least leaves some room for the query whether the gratitude which requires such a circuitous and expensive route for its perception may not have been the result of mistakes made in 1787, and is therefore better fitted for the meridian of the castle of Thunder-ten-tronckh, as Macaulay might say, than for the figure of history in this modern age. Besides, if the compromises did rest on any "general belief" as to the transitoriness of slavery, it is plain that they were founded on an error of judgment, and would not have been adopted had their consequences been foreseen. In this view, then, their "good policy" becomes a theme of abstract discussion, lying apart from the conscious purpose of their authors in the domain of concrete history.

We believe it is not strictly accurate to say, as Mr. Fiske does in his second chapter, that "in all the thirteen States the common law of England remained in force" at the close of the Revolution "as it does to this day, save where modified by statute." Dr. Wharton has shown in his 'Commentaries,' with a great affluence of learning and illustration, that many of our States, even before the Revolution, had evolved a modified common-law jurisprudence of their own by "the silent method of consuetudinal adoption and reduction." These changes were not the result of statute law, and were not even the creatures of "judge-made law." They were simple declarations of fact deepened into legal precedents by the force of a common usage in our colonial history.

It was a "happy thought" on the part of Mr. Ford to reproduce in this centennial period a select number of the pamphlets which were published for and against the Constitution while the question of its adoption or rejection was pending before the people of the several States. In the broader scope and wider circulation of the modern periodical and of the newspaper press, the pamphlet, as it was known to the fathers hundred years ago, has doubtless lost some of the circumstantial interest which then gave to it such a value as showing the age and body of the times. Even in the small fasciculus here gathered from the wide field of political pamphleteering in 1787 and 1788, we can learn the political accent of the

living age in almost every variety of tone, and can catch, as from a phonograph, the true and the false emphasis which was then peculiar to the political dialect of the country. The pamphlets judiciously chosen by Mr. Ford to be typical of the political discussion which was waged over the adoption of the Constitution are fourteen in number, nine in favor of the Constitution and five against it. The writers of the pamphlets in favor of the instrument are Noah Webster, John Jay, Pelatiah Webster, Tench Coxe, James Wilson, John Dickinson, Alexander Contee Hanson, James Iredell, and David Ramsay, while those who here represent the opponents of the Constitution are Elbridge Gerry, Melancthon Smith, Edmund Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, and George Mason.

With much that is merely declamatory in these sibylline leaves of a former generation, there is much that is very instructive concerning that "interval and breathing-spell of the times" (to use a phrase of Tacitus) which, more than any other, gave complexion and shape to the destiny of the country. We had at first proposed to lift into relief the salient features of each of the delineations here brought to the portraiture of the Constitution by its friends and by its enemies; but we soon found that such a detail would lead to the needless multiplication of "stock arguments" on both sides. To the personnel of the Convention it is objected by Melancthon Smith of New York that some of the "characters" who composed it were men "of small consequence," and that "a number were suspected of being great public defaulters and of having been guilty of notorious peculation and fraud." Such charges are specimen flings caught up from the mud and slime of the gutters with which to bespatter at that time the reputations of men like Robert Morris and Thomas Mifflin. Even men so grave and respectable as Richard Henry Lee did not hesitate to express the opinion that the delegates from Pennsylvania were esteemed "aristocratical," and that the other ten States had appointed too many men who were connected with commerce and the legal profession. So it came to pass, argues Lee, that the farming and planting interest of the country had been pushed to the wall. The non-attendance of eight or nine men who had been appointed members of the Convention he pronounces to have been "a very unfortunate event" for the United States.

The friends of the Constitution among these writers, especially in the small States, emphasize the equality of the States in the Senate as a strong point gained for the federative principle and for the protection of separate and historical interests at the North and at the South. Noah Webster scouts the objection brought against the importation of negroes for twenty-one years as being "a very pitiful exception addressed to the Quakers." He argues that the Constitution "has wisely left each State to pursue its own measures, with respect to this article of legislation, during the period of twenty-one years," because "an immediate abolition of slavery would bring ruin upon the whites and misery upon the blacks in the Southern States"; while it is argued by Tench Coxe that in the power to prohibit the importation of negroes after 1808 "a solid foundation is laid for exploding the principles of negro slavery." As might be expected, the Northern defenders of the Constitution among these pamphleteers make light of the concessions to slavery. The Southern defenders of the Constitution either make the most of the same concessions, or touch them with a lenient hand. The Northern opponents of the Constitution (Elbridge Gerry and Mc-

lanethon Smith) ignore the topic. Among the Southern opponents of the Constitution, Richard Henry Lee admits that the representation of slaves under the Constitution is a "temptation" offered to the Southern States, while George Mason deplores the toleration of the slave trade for twenty-one years as tending to render the United States "weaker, more vulnerable, and less capable of defence." The tenor of these pamphlets on the subject of slavery would seem, therefore, to lend color to the charge of Luther Martin that in 1787 the people throughout the whole country had declined in their former sensibility to the rights of the negro. While Noah Webster was sneering in Connecticut at Quaker squeamishness on this subject, David Ramsay of South Carolina was writing in his pamphlet that, with negro representation, and with the fresh importation of slaves for twenty-one years, the "influence of the South in the general Government would be constantly increasing," and that in fifty years the Southern States would probably have an ascendancy over the Eastern. The "concession" in favor of the Southern States is pronounced by him to be "immense."

Textual accuracy was of prime obligation in a publication like that of Mr. Ford's, but it has not been always attained. For instance, the pamphlet of Richard Henry Lee is certainly the weightiest of all the utterances against the Constitution in 1787. We justify Mr. Ford in selecting the second imprint of this pamphlet as the one to be reproduced in this volume, but we cannot justify the confidence he has reposed in his copyist or in his proof-reader. The sense of certain passages as written by Lee is sometimes obscured and sometimes destroyed by pure interpolation. Sentences like the following (where we place the interpolations in brackets) will illustrate what we mean: "Acquit me, sir, of any agency in the formation of the new system; I shall be satisfied with seeing, if it shall be adopted, [with] a prudent administration." "An army is [not] a very agreeable place of employment for the young gentlemen of certain families." "It is said that when people make a constitution and delegate powers, that all powers [are] not delegated by them to those who govern, is reserved in the people." At other points whole sentences are obscured or emptied of meaning by the substitution of a wrong word for the right one, as, on page 281, by substituting "with" for "wish"; on page 283, "prosperity" for "posturity"; on page 286, "the federal State governments" for "the several State governments"; on page 301, "import duties" for "impost duties"; on page 313, "made" for "make," etc. In punctuation, also, the sins of omission and commission are not infrequent. The passage on page 321, where the writer refers to a set of men who "are called aristocrats, m—ites, etc., etc., etc." should have been accompanied with a foot-note explaining that in the first edition of this pamphlet the blank is filled out with the word "morisites." It was a petty slur of Lee aimed at his political *bête noire*, Robert Morris. The passage as it stands is meaningless to the un instructed reader.

The title of the copious volume which stands third on our list, though strictly bibliographical, is far from being descriptive of the wealth and variety of its contents. We here have in successive chapters a lively account of the struggle that was had in Pennsylvania over the Constitution; of the well-nigh revolutionary wrangle in the Pennsylvania Assembly over the calling of a State Convention to act on the Constitution; of the state of public opinion in Pennsylvania before the Convention met; of the debate in the Convention; of the public

temper while the Convention was sitting and after it rose; to which are added the anti-Federal letters of "Centinel," biographical sketches of the Pennsylvania members of the Federal Convention, similar sketches of the members of the Pennsylvania Convention, and an appendix containing James Wilson's Notes of the Debates on the Constitution in the Pennsylvania Convention, and the Replies made at the time by Robert Morris and Thomas Mifflin to the hoarse diatribes with which they were assailed by "Centinel" and other pamphleteers in 1787.

In no State did the fluctuations of political opinion for and against the Constitution rise higher than in Pennsylvania, while from the comparative vivacity of the newspaper press of Philadelphia, it is safe to say that in no State was the swirl of passions at that crisis so faithfully portrayed in all its froth and foam, as well as in the solidity of the arguments which finally carried conviction to the public mind. The names of Benjamin Franklin, of James Wilson, of Robert Morris, of Gouverneur Morris, of George Clymer, and of Thomas Mifflin are inseparably blended with the great charter of government to which they set their hands. And twenty-four hours after the Continental Congress had submitted the Constitution to the judgment of the States, a crisis on the question of its adoption was precipitated in the Pennsylvania Legislature by the effort of the anti-Federalist minority "to break a quorum," and thereby prevent the call of a Convention, at least with the "hot haste" for which the Federalists were contending. The public temper was at once brought to a white heat by the flames of this angry controversy. The popular hustings and the halls of deliberation resounded with high and low debate, while the columns of the newspapers were kept in a constant state of crepitition by the political squibs and fire-crackers which were lightly thrown into the air during this carnival of politics. It is alike from the grave dialectics and from the sometimes festive and sometimes sullen humors of that stirring epoch, that the editors of this volume have compiled their materials. As a picture of the times, its curious interest is exceeded only by its historical value. In turning the pages of the bulky book, which we find none too large, and in delving among the husks and shells here gathered from the kitchen-middens of our post-revolutionary era, we have often been reminded of the "recipe for an anti-Federalist essay," which we once met with in a newspaper of the year 1787. The recipe ran as follows: "Take 'well-born' nine times; 'aristocracy' nine times; 'liberty of the press' thirteen times; 'liberty of conscience' once; 'negro slavery' once; 'trial by jury' seven times; 'great men' six times; 'Mr. Wilson' forty times; and, lastly, 'George Mason's right hand in a cutting box' nineteen times. Put all together, boil or roast or fry, and dish at pleasure. After being once used, the remains of the same dish may be served a dozen times *ad libitum*."

The place assigned in that satirical quip to John Adams's famous phrase about "well-born" people does but faithfully represent the part it plays in the letters of "Centinel," as reproduced in this publication. And the place occupied by "Mr. Wilson" in the *olla podrida* above described does but faithfully represent the conspicuous place he is here shown to have held in the public eye, both among those who supported and those who opposed the adoption of the Constitution. The flavor has long since evaporated from the acrid political badinage and the harsh invective of this volcanic period; but it may still instruct the historic mind in the due proportion of things to find Robert

Morris held up to public ridicule as "Bobby the Cofferer"; to see the sedate Gouverneur Morris whistled down the wind as "Gouverneur the Cunning Man"; to recognize the grave figure of Judge James Wilson under the nickname of "Jimmy" or "James de Caledonia"; and to hear the name of Franklin bandied about as "a fool by age," and that of Washington as "a fool by nature." Time, which makes all things even, has certainly wrought its revenge on the rough polemics of 1787; but no time can stale the dignity and worth of the high polemic which James Wilson brought to the defence of the Constitution in the day of its supreme trial. It is pleasant to find his work here placed in its proper historical setting, and to see the justice done to his associates which Elliot has failed to render in his inadequate compilations. And we are glad, too, to have the letters of "Centinel" in their integrity and sequence. "Centinel" is the "Junius" of his time, as well by the virulence of his rhetoric as by reason of the shadow which still veils his name.

The politicians who in the late Presidential canvass appealed so constantly to "British opinion" as entitled to decisive weight in the making up of our judgments on questions of domestic politics, will be pleased to find that they are supported in this species of peasant logic by precedents which are venerable for their antiquity, because dating from the very foundation epoch of our Government. A brief excerpt from one of the newspaper essays reproduced in this volume will show the antiquity of such argumentative humility:

"Look around you, Mr. Oswald, ask the British and other foreign agents their opinion of the new Constitution, and you will find them all open-mouthed, bellowing forth its praises. How could it be otherwise, when its principles are so similar to those of the constitutions of their own respective countries, which they have sucked with their milk? It is well known that all the foreign ministers at New York have declared in favor of this new form of government, and it is suspected that they have not been inactive in endeavoring to bring it about."—*Independent Gazetteer, Oct. 15, 1787.*

The index to the volume is very defective, and must have been made by one of Coleridge's "jelly-bag" order of readers. If one wants to know, for instance, what the volume contains in reference to the constitutional provision for continuing the slave trade till the year 1808, he will find a single reference to page 599. The other and sometimes the more important allusions made to the same topic, on pages 135, 141, 182, 278, 374, 521, etc., receive no attention. No consistent principle seems to have been followed in the digest.

Mr. Walker disarms criticism of his little book by telling the reader that its chief purpose is to provoke somebody to make a more exhaustive examination of the subject than it has yet received. Otherwise we should say that it was written to show how little is known about the New Hampshire Convention of 1788 and how much is known about the Old North Meeting-house in Concord. The history of the latter is minutely traced from the year 1726 down to "the night of Monday, November 28, 1870," when "the purifying angel wrapped her mantle about the old building, and transported it heavenward on wings of flame"; while the history of the former is lightly touched, with brief biographical sketches of the more prominent delegates relegated to footnotes or to the appendix. In the appendix, too, we must look for the report of the "speeches" made in the Convention, and the little we have under this head is rather by way of diminution from former publications than by way of addition to them. Mr. Walker informs us that he

can find no contemporary report of Joshua Atherton's anti-slavery speech as contained in Elliot's compilation, where it figures as "the only speech known to be preserved" concerning the adoption of the Constitution in New Hampshire. We now learn that the abstract of this speech was found "by accident" in 1827, and, while it is probably authentic in point of substance, as representing the known anti-slavery views of the speaker in opposition to the clause of the Constitution which countenanced the slave trade, its genuineness in point of form calls for subsidiary evidence. In some slight recompense for this loss, if loss it be, we have a few paragraphs from a speech of Gen. John Sullivan in defence of the Federal judiciary under the Constitution. It must be admitted that the State which won the honor of putting the keystone to the Federal arch by being the ninth of the States which ratified the Constitution, does not appear to equal advantage in the debates of the time. And this singular honor was gained in June, 1788, only because the Convention declined to ratify the instrument at the session of February in that year.

Mr. Walker might have given a dash of "local color" to his narrative if, in referring to John Langdon and Nicholas Gilman as the delegates of New Hampshire in the Federal Convention at Philadelphia, he had explained the reason of their late attendance in that body, and why they were not joined by their colleagues, John Pickering and Benjamin West. Mr. Madison tells us in one of his letters that it was not because of any backwardness on the part of the State to be represented at Philadelphia, but because "the State Treasury was empty," and the substitution of private resources to meet the exigencies of the case was found inexpedient or impracticable. Nothing could better mark the dead point reached in 1787 under the Articles of Confederation than this significant fact.

"Slavery," says Mr. Walker, "died a natural death in New Hampshire," and was never abolished by statute. He might have added that its abolition by statute was defeated. In 1780, when there were only three or four hundred slaves in the State, on a petition submitted to the Legislature by nineteen negroes praying to be set free, it was solemnly resolved by the House of Representatives, after argument made before it by counsel for the petitioners, "that at this time this House is not ripe for a determination in this matter; therefore, ordered, that the further consideration of the matter be postponed to a more convenient opportunity." The facts in the case were recalled many years ago in the *Granite Monthly* (vol. 4, p. 110), and form a subject of remark in the current number of the *Magazine of American History*. Mr. Walker explains that the Federal Constitution received a check in the matter of its adoption at the first session of the Convention, and narrowly escaped rejection at the second, because of the popular repugnance to its provisions conservative of slavery. The people saw how hard it was to extirpate slavery, and did not wish to see it fostered or extended. Yet this State, in the subsequent policies of the country, became perhaps the most stalwart of all the Northern States in defence of slavery under the Constitution. The transition from Joshua Atherton, the anti-slavery and anti-Federal leader of 1788, to his grandson, Charles G. Atherton, the defender of the Constitutional rights of slavery and the famous author of "the Atherton gag" in 1838, will measure the moral and political interval between the two epochs. The moral and political change wrought in the national temper and

character by the slavery compromises of the Constitution deserves to be considered in any philosophical study of the "sound policy" which dictated the concessions made in 1787 under this head.

Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Excavations. By Rodolfo Lanciani, LL.D., Professor of Archaeology in the University of Rome, Director of Excavations, etc. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

PROF. LANCIANI might well have added, as second title to his fascinating book, 'The Romance of Archaeological Research,' for rarely has it happened that a work on the dry and fossilized themes of antiquity possessed so much romantic interest as this, and in no wise to the detriment of its scientific authority. Coming as it does from the man who has directed in general the most important of the recent excavations in Rome, and witnessed the resurrection of the most instructive relics of Imperial Rome, as well as traced, in the evidences of its extreme antiquity, the story of the foundation of the city, this volume possesses, together with the freshness of first sight, almost the force of the last word. But, in addition to this, the Professor has succeeded in preserving to an unusual extent the charm which early classical history has for the student of myths and mysteries. The chapter on the "Foundation and Prehistoric Life of Rome" is one of the best and most solid pieces of archaeological reconstruction we have had the good fortune to see, put plainly and logically before an unscientific public. As the direct superintendent of the excavations of the Etruscan necropolis, on the discovery of which Prof. Middleton based his important (if well founded) conclusion, that Rome had before being Roman been Etruscan, and as having seen in their unsophisticated state the *pièces de conviction* of this theory, Prof. Lanciani is in a position to confirm or contradict the theory conclusively; and his declaration that "nothing has been found within the last sixteen years, either in the new or in the old quarters of Rome, which can give any foundation" to it, must be accepted as decisive. This decision, too, is in strict accordance with the opinion which must be arrived at by one who goes over the sites of Etruria, and notices the peculiarities of the civic system of defence and construction of that mysterious race which, established in Etruria long before the foundation of Rome, and to a certain extent involved in early Roman history, had not, by the evidence of tradition, extended its power so far as Rome until Porsenna led it there. The position of the city is one which does not answer the conditions of Etruscan polity. We must refer the reader to the book for the demonstration of the soundness of the ancient Roman traditions as to the foundation of their city so far as the general attribution goes, involving the interpretation of the mythological forms which the original and genuine tradition finally assumed under the universal tendency to anthropomorphism and impersonation. In the chapter devoted to this subject, the fullest fascination of archaeological research is to be found.

As belonging properly to the preface where Prof. Lanciani puts it, we must, in justice to the "archaeological brotherhood" to which he appeals, protest against the language he makes use of in relation to the vandalism which has characterized the operations of the Roman municipality in the extension of the city. Prof. Lanciani says:

"Coming now to our own times, and the controversy lately raised on the so-called destruc-

tion of Rome, I must acknowledge that the sensation we felt when the controversy was opened was one of disgust rather than of sorrow. These pretended revelations of vandalism, these condemnations of operations characterized at first as destruction of Rome, later on as simple transformation or disfigurement, were levelled at men who, for the last seventeen years, have been constantly on the watch to defend, inch by inch, the archaeological ground against the princes of finance and speculation, against engineers and contractors, against the daily press."

It is only necessary to go a little further in the same preface, and quote Prof. Lanciani in defence of the scholars and travellers, the men of taste and the men of sentiment, who have, in common with "the daily press," excited his disgust:

"It is impossible to imagine anything more commonplace, and out of keeping, and shabby, and tasteless, than the new quarters which encircle the city of 1870. . . . The lovely districts crossed by the Via Salaria and the Via Nomentana, formerly studded with patrician villas and gardens, overlooking the Campagna, the valley of the Anio, the Sabine and Volscian mountains, have been transformed into an ugly city of five-storyed, anti-aesthetic houses, looking more like barracks and barns than like dwellings for the cultivated inhabitants of the metropolis of a great kingdom. The same practice has been followed in building on the Esquiline, the Viminal, and the Quirinal hills, the plains of Testaccio and of Castello, and the outskirts of the city outside the gates S. Lorenzo, Maggiore, S. Giovanni, Angelica, and Portese. . . . It is difficult to decide who is to blame for the present state of things. . . . In my opinion, the blame must be cast especially on the Roman aristocracy, on our noble landowners, unworthy the great names which, to our misfortune, they have inherited; because no sooner did this degenerate race discern the possibility of raising a little money on the magnificent villas which their forefathers had built and laid out for the comfort, health, and welfare of their fellow-citizens, than they did not hesitate one second to sell by the yard, as it were, the glory and pride of their families. We have seen three of them sell the very gardens which surrounded their city mansions, allowing these mansions to be contaminated by the contact of ignoble tenement-houses. . . . It is impossible to give an idea of the cruel persistence with which foliage, vegetation, trees, everything which is green, are persecuted in and around Rome. Public administrations, state, municipality, and private individuals seem to vie with each other in taking the lead of the crusade against the few samples of vegetable life which the *auri sacra fames* of the Roman aristocracy has left standing. When the municipality took possession of the Villa Corsini on the Janiculum to transform it into a public promenade, they began their work by cutting down the great oaks planted by Queen Christine of Sweden, under the pretence that they interfered with the view."

Yet these are the very "pretended revelations of vandalism" which are the basis of the attacks on the Roman municipality, the only and authoritative cause of all, since it has been absolute in all its regulations and prescriptions throughout the period of reconstruction and demolition of Rome. Not a house can be built or pulled down without the approval of its assessors. Its power over the character of the new Rome was as despotic as that of a Roman emperor, and it has used it to perpetrate what can only be characterized as the greatest barbarism of the nineteenth century.

It is pleasanter to follow our author into the region of research. The chapter on the foundation of Rome cannot be epitomized, and the reader must peruse it carefully. The derivation of the name of the city from *rumon*, a stream, as the city by the running water—the etymology and derivation of the names and usages contained in the Roman myth—are matters of the highest interest, but it is difficult to follow Prof. Lanciani's reasoning when he says: "Finally, it was determined that, although the use of iron may have been known in this district before the total extinction of the

craters [of the Alban Mount], no iron is to be found inside or near the cinerary urns above described. The tombs consequently belong to the prehistoric age of bronze." Now, the same hut urns of which the Professor has been speaking occur in various parts of Italy, from Veturonia to Sybaris, from the northern extremity of the Etruscan state to the end of Magna Grecia, and we find them in connection with amber and iron in the earliest Italic tombs yet discovered, and before any samples of "Etruscan or Italo-Greek pottery," such as the Professor describes in connection with these tombs on the Alban Hills, appear. Hence, if "it follows evidently, from these facts, not only that the Alban shepherds of a well-to-do sort imported foreign earthenware, but also that local manufacturers tried to imitate the shape and the style of the imported specimens by moulding their rough cups and flasks with a certain degree of approximation," it also follows that these tombs are not of extreme antiquity; for the introduction of Italo-Greek pottery is not earlier than the seventh century before Christ, nor does the legend of Rome demand that these tombs should be earlier than that, even as expounded by Lanciani. The fact is, that there is great obscurity about the use of iron, not improbably owing to the fact that we do not make the due distinction between iron and steel. Until the method of tempering steel was known, it was of little use as compared with bronze, as it could not be brought to a useful, durable edge as bronze could. But the whole discussion of the subject of the uses of iron and bronze, the sacredness of the latter, and the profanity of the former (pp. 39-43), is very valuable.

We cannot accompany Prof. Lanciani through the whole of his entrancing volume. It is written in a style which, if sometimes inclined to be overflowing, is never obscure, and does not require a previous archaeological training to enable the reader to understand it completely, or a knowledge of Rome or archaeology to enjoy it thoroughly. Some faulty idioms and expressions are pardonable in an Italian, e. g., "the finest libraries of the first three centuries of Christendom," where Christianity is meant. There is an occasional lapse like this in the contradiction between pages 241 and 301: the huge block of marble in the Colonna gardens is said in the former to be of twenty-seven tons weight, and in the latter of "upwards of one hundred tons."

Memoir of George Edmund Street, R.A., 1824-1881. By his son, Arthur Edmund Street. London: Murray. 1888. Pp. 441.

GEORGE EDMUND STREET was one of the architects in England best known to foreigners, partly because of the important buildings he erected on the Continent of Europe, such as the Memorial Church at Constantinople, the English Church at Genoa, and the American churches at Paris and at Rome, and partly because of the London Law Courts, a building whose record has filled the newspapers for many a year past. He was a designer of the more original sort, artistically-minded rather than of mechanical or engineering tendencies. He was also an ecclesiologist of great devotion and enthusiasm. An architect of such gifts and tendencies who succeeds in gaining popular favor is pretty sure to be heard of, as his works are of the sort which cause discussion and the urging of contrary opinions.

The balance of such contrary opinions would have been however, most unusually favorable to Street but for the amazing ill-success as a practical building of his most costly and most

famous production, the Law Courts on the Strand. It is quite unmatched in the way of inconvenience and clumsiness; crowded, and yet abounding in waste room; having an immense and lofty central hall, and yet awkward in communications and cramped in stairs and lobbies; badly ventilated, badly lighted, badly arranged. As to its artistic quality, there are different opinions, but assuredly hostile criticisms are invited even to the exterior when it is observed that the unusual character of its frontage on street or on courtyard, with its irregularity, its uneven sky-line, its advancements and retreatings, ups-and-downs and ins-and-outs, so strange in a modern city, and so unexpected-looking in a crowded and unpicturesque one, are all of no service at all to the plan and distribution, which remain as bad as if everything had been sacrificed to monumental uniformity and balance. One feature it has, in view of which an enthusiast in pointed architecture would forgive, if he could, all the rest—its noble hall, one of the most beautiful and impressive interiors in the European world, ancient or modern. It is so fine in proportion and in detail that it rises out of all comparison with the modern interiors that we see elsewhere, and demands a rank with King's College Chapel or the nave of a great French cathedral; and yet it is only the main corridor of a mass of building that stretches away on three sides of it, many-storyed and vast.

The gifts shown in this are shown also, though not often so clearly, in his smaller buildings, especially in the very numerous churches which Street erected in England. What is often called the Victorian architecture—a modified Gothic, distinguished by a liberal grafting of Italian details upon what is mainly an English plan and general disposition of parts—is perhaps at its best in his hands. It may not be permanently classed among the true architectures of the world, and it seems to be leading to nothing better; but nothing else in European lands and in our time comes as near to being an architectural style, and therefore it is a notable phenomenon. Street's smaller churches are his best work. He excels in daily and familiar tasks; when there is need to "rise to the occasion" he perhaps always fails, in a more or less noticeable fashion, and one should study his scores of parish churches to learn to do him justice.

The bent of Street's mind was towards mediævalism. Probably he would not have become an architect, or, if started in that career, would not have succeeded greatly in it, but for the coincidence of his beginning of independent work with the second decade of the Gothic revival and its rapid advance. As a mediævalist and as an ecclesiologist, he suited the times, and the times called for him. As a designer of unusual delicacy and grace of fancy, he was able to go far beyond his predecessors, and notably the more celebrated ones, as Pugin and Scott, in recommending the revived pointed style to those who asked for art rather than archaeology. It would be quite true to say of him that he was rather a student of mediæval art than an architect. We cannot imagine him as consenting, as Scott did, to design a classical building for a Committee which said plainly, "You are our architect if you will work in the Italian style; it is settled that we will not have Gothic—Lord Palmerston will not hear of it." It would be perfectly fair to say of him that he was more a high-churchman than an architect, and that he never seems at home outside of the ecclesiastical work to which he gave the most of his life.

But one gift he had which helped make of

a churchman and a dainty ornamentalist a productive builder—power of hard work. No man ever devoted himself to the fine arts more willing or able than Street to work all day, and all night too, upon occasion. The practice of an architect in a large way of business demands this more often than most other pursuits, because of the multiplicity of details incapable of being passed upon in the lump, and needing separate examination and decision. The banker, who boasts that his day's work is always done with the day, that when he shuts his portfolio at night there is never a letter in it unanswered or an order unprovided for, talks much at his ease. His work can be done in that way; it is capable of being done by employees, and needs the chief only to cut the knots of indecision here and there, and to say *how* it shall be. But the drawings for an elaborate piece of architectural ornament are never done until the work itself is begun. They cannot be made good enough, they cannot be perfected; always there are improvements that might be made. If the principal himself were able to make them all, down to minute details, that would be better. A day's work on them hardly shows: and when the drawing-boards are covered up at night, the golden hours of the day have added only here and there an additional feature, or perhaps have introduced into the design some peculiarities which require to-morrow to be spent in getting rid of them. For such a profession as this, Street was admirable. He was indefatigable; he saw to details, he considered every part of every design as his own work. The practice among busy architects of turning over to their subordinates whole branches of their general work or whole sets of drawings, reserving only their veto and the right of suggestion—this was foreign to Street's ways. It was told of him that he was commonly absent from his office during the day, that his younger draughtsmen saw little of him; but that, on coming to their half-done drawings in the morning, they would find them covered with sketched and often even elaborated modifications and written directions—more than a day's work marked out for them in advance.

In this thorough-going way Street worked from 1850 to 1881, when he died. It is on the whole an exemplary life of toil and achievement which his son had to record, and about it he has written the most ill-arranged, jumbled and rambling book that can be imagined. Nothing can be found in it by chronological order or by subject: there is a small index, but of course not opening up the whole book. Only a few of Street's buildings are mentioned in the text, and the table at the end of the book gives

no dates. It is, in short, very inadequate as a biography, or as an account of the English Gothic revival, as seen from the standpoint of one of its foremost champions. Its tone of constant apology, and the uniform use of the title "my father" for the subject of the memoir, are vexatious to the reader. Thus carelessly made, it is unworthy of its subject, and unsatisfactory to any one interested in the man, his work, or his era.

About one-quarter of the volume is an appendix consisting of a series of five lectures, delivered by Street to the architectural students of the Royal Academy in 1881.

The Story of Mediæval France, from the Reign of Hughes Capet to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century. By Gustave Masson, B.A. [The Story of the Nations.] G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1888. 8vo, pp. 454.

The title-page of this volume contains a misprint. The story does not end with the beginning of the *eighteenth*, but of the *sixteenth* century, with the death of Louis XII. The history of France is so important, from its central and leading position among nations, the long continuance of its national life, and the picturesqueness and interest of its annals, that it well merits a divided treatment, by which mediæval France and modern France should have each a volume to itself. Even as it is, the history of mediæval France has been shortened; for the independent life of the nation may be said to begin in reality, not with the accession of the Capetian house, but with the division of the empire among the grandsons of Charles the Great.

The style of the writer is not distinguished for graphic quality, but he has enlivened his narration with a large number of incidents and of illustrative extracts in prose and verse (for the interpretation of which a glossary is added, although a translation always accompanies them). The book is distinguished, however, as the author's reputation would lead us to expect, for its scholarly accuracy, and it contains many details that every student will be glad to have in this accessible form. For example, we have not merely an excellent chronological table, in three columns—Political Events, The Church, Science and Literature—but following it a copious list of sources, a list of Chancellors, some tables of Genealogy, and a tabular view of the States-General. The text itself abounds in valuable items of unfamiliar information. We are surprised to find (p. 72) the common story that King John of England was condemned for the murder of his nephew Arthur, when M. Bémont appears to have proved (see

Nation, December 30, 1886) that the only formal condemnation, to the forfeiture of his fiefs, was on the complaint of the nobles of Poitou, before the death of Arthur. The view taken, moreover, of the Capitulary of Kiersy (p. 5) that it sanctioned "the hereditary transmission of landed property and of all charges, offices, and positions of trust," seems to us quite exaggerated. We would not go to the extreme of some German writers, who seem practically to deny to this capitulary any influence upon institutions; but it certainly was purely temporary and local in its immediate scope, and while it is of the highest value as a landmark and an indication of the drift of events, it cannot be said to have *legislated* the hereditary transmission either of property or of office.

The illustrations are of the best type, the portraits being especially interesting, and the maps are highly to be commended. The proof-reading, however, has not been first-rate. The map of "France Before the Crusades" prints *Lys* for *Lys*, and *Rouersue* for *Rouergue*, and places Lyons far from its true locality. On page 209 the date 1343 is given for 1363.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Almanach de Gotha. 1889. New York: B. Westermann & Co.
Arm-Chair Essays. By the Author of Three-Cornered Essays. Scribner & Welford.
Arnold, A. S. *The Story of Thomas Carlyle*. Scribner & Welford.
Ashton, J. *Men, Maidens, and Manners a Hundred Years Ago*. Illustrated. Scribner & Welford.
Bachmann, Rev. John. *Letters and Memories of his Life*. Charleston, S. C.: Walker, Evans and Co.
Barrie, J. M. *When a Man's Single: A Tale of Literary Life*. Harper & Bros.
Bellamy, C. J. *A Moment of Madness*. A. L. Burt. 25 cents.
Besant—Palmer. *Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Saladin*. New ed. Scribner & Welford.
Brine, Mary D. *Grandma's Memories*. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.
Browning, R. *Poetical Works*. Vol. IX. *The Ring and the Book*. Macmillan & Co. \$1.50.
Chandler, J. Sully: *Economies Royales*. Paris: Guillaumin & Co.
Edkins, Dr. J. *The Evolution of the Chinese Language*. Tribner & Co.
Fotheringham, J. *Studies in the Poetry of Robert Browning*. Scribner & Welford.
Garnett, E. *The Paradox Club*. Scribner & Welford.
Getkine, Rev. C. *A Short Life of Christ, for Old and Young*. Illustrated. James Pott & Co.
Gratian, L. P. *The Analytics of a Belief in a Future Life*. James Pott & Co.
Holden, W. *Autobiography of Love*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
Huish, M. B. *Japan and its Art*. Macmillan & Co. \$3.
Lawlace, W. M. *The Japanese Wedding*. Harold Roerbach. 25 cents.
Liggins, Rev. J. *The Great Value and Success of Foreign Missions*. Provided by Distinguised Witnesses. The Baker and Taylor Co. 75 cents.
Maitland, Robert. *Sketches from a Tour through Holland and Germany*. Macmillan & Co. \$3.
Marryat, Capt. *Mr. Midshipman Easy*. Illustrated. Scribner & Welford.
Marryat, Capt. Peter Simple. Illustrated. Scribner & Welford.
McLean, Sally Pratt. *Lastchance Junction: A Novel*. Boston: Cupples & Hurd. \$1.25.
Morgan, A. *The Bankside Shakespeare, III. The Merchant of Venice*. The Shakespeare Society of New York.
Nery, F. J. *de Santa Anna. Folk-Lore Brésilien*. Paris: Perrin & Cie.
Perry, Carlotta. *Poems*. Belford, Clarke & Co.
Renan, E. *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël. Tome Deuxième*. B. Westermann & Co.

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WILL PUBLISH SATURDAY:

Maine's International Law.

By Henry Sumner Maine, K.C.S.I., Late Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and Member of the Indian Council. 8vo, \$2.75.

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